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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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5 JUNE 1986

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### JURIST DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL LAW ON OUTER SPACE

Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 3, 13-19 Jan 86 p 11

[Interview with Professor Vladlen Stepanovich Vereshchetin, vice-president, International Institute on Space Law, doctor of juridical sciences, by Yuriy Ivashchenko: "Space Law": date and place not given]

[Text] On dry land people establish the borders between states along rivers, mountains, valleys, and sometimes also along parallels and meridians. In the World Ocean the zone of sovereignty is defined by the coastal waters extending toward the open sea for a certain number of miles. With regard to the high seas, they are accessible for the ships of any country [even if it does not possess a single meter of maritime coast on its own territory]. The rise of aeronautics posed the question of whether the air space above a state belonged to it. It was agreed that such space did belong to it. Therefore, without the appropriate permission, foreign airplanes do not have the right to appear in "someone else's skies." But then Earth's first artificial satellite began giving out its own "beep-beep"; the orbit of its movement lay not only above the territory of the USSR, and this occurred without the permission of other countries' governments. Was there a conflict here? No. This satellite (Sputnik) moved through non-atmospheric space. Furthermore, Sputnik was immediately recognized as belonging among the greatest achievements of human genius; it became a symbol of people's striving for knowledge. The entire world applauded our breakthrough into space. And so, at what altitude does space begin? What is considered to be a space object? NEDELYA's correspondent sought the answers to these questions from Professor Vladlen Stepanovich VERESHCHETIN, vice-president of the International Institute on Space Law and a doctor of juridical sciences.

[Answer] Space flight has developed in a headlong manner; now going into orbit are ships of the Shuttle type, which combine within themselves qualities permitting them to fly in the atmosphere as well as in non-atmospheric space. While climbing and then coming back to Earth such a craft can pass over the

territory of many sovereign countries. Moreover, the United States intends to utilize the Shuttle extensively for military purposes. This poses with new acuteness the question of where a state's air space ends and where outer space begins. In accordance with the fundamental document of space law--the Treaty on the Principles for the Activities of States Engaging in the Study and Utilization of Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, as signed by 85 states, such space is open for everybody and is not subject to national annexation.

The Soviet Union has proposed that a boundary be established between air space and outer space by means of a stipulated altitude of no more than 110 kilometers above sea level. Such a boundary is dictated by nature itself. It is only higher than this dividing-line, outside the dense layers of the atmosphere, that artificial Earth satellites can exist for quite a long time without burning up.

[Question] And so, while you are flying at an altitude of less than 110 kilometers over someone else's territory, please behave like an airplane and request permission from the owners. When you rise higher, you can fly wherever you like. Up there it is somewhat like the open sea, right?

[Answer] Precisely so. But that does not suit the militaristic circles of the United States and their henchmen, who are striving to legitimize the conduct of military actions in a unified space above the Earth.

[Answer] Vladlen Stepanovich, how could it have happened anyway that the question arose concerning the militarization of space? Because, of course, the Treaty on Space which you mentioned very specifically proclaims in its Article IV that....

[Answer] Excuse me if I interrupt you and cite this passage: "States which are a party to this Treaty pledge themselves not to put into orbit around the Earth any objects with nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction, not to install such weaponry on celestial bodies, nor to deploy such weaponry in space by any other means whatsoever."

This is not the only document which limits the military utilization of space, although a complete ban on any military activity in space, as was proposed in due course by the Soviet Union, has not yet been achieved.

Of exceptional importance are the bans contained, for example, the 1972 Soviet-American Treaty on limiting anti-ballistic defense systems (ABM's). The present-day Washington administration, which has made as the banner of its own policy the program of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, or, to put it more simply, the "Star Wars" idea, is seeking the tiniest loopholes in order to avoid the obligations which were undertaken by their predecessors. By referring to the appearance of laser and other new types of weaponry not specifically stipulated in the ABM Treaty, it is attempting to prove that the Strategic Defense Initiative is justified. Washington's proofs are utterly without foundation. Even the leader of the American Delegation to the ABM Talks states today that a "new interpretation" of the Treaty is unacceptable to the American administration. In Article I it bans the development [razvertyvaniye]

of an anti-ballistic missile system for defending a country's territory or even the creation [sozdaniye] of the basis for such a defense, while Article V bans the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and development [razvertyvaniye] of systems or components of space-based ABM's. The "Star Wars" program violates these bans in the grossest manner.

[Question] But just what is the role to be played by space law in the struggle to prevent "Star Wars"?

[Answer] In the first place, of course, everything depends on the political will of the states concerned. The latest Soviet initiatives have once again shown the entire world that on our part there is no lack of desire to firm up security on Earth.

Our efforts have been unchangingly directed not only at the strict fulfillment of the already-existing terms of agreement (this is mentioned directly in the draft of the new Party Program) but also at achieving new agreements which would block the deployment in space of strike weapons, while at the same time significantly reducing nuclear weapons on Earth.

[Question] Space activity is multi-faceted. What kinds of further problems does it pose?

[Answer] Broad possibilities for organizing mass information have been opened up by artificial communications satellites. Thanks to them, television broadcasting from orbit directly to home television sets has become a reality. Therefore, every space power has obtained the potential for relaying its own programs to the television screens of other countries without having to go through any sort of mediation by their governments. On the technical level this is a great achievement. But direct television broadcasting (NTV) has facilitated and shortened the path for the flow of news and information not only of a cognitive nature. It allows one state to interfere in the internal affairs of another, to conduct hostile propaganda and advertising without a conscience.

The USSR's point of view is as follows: NTV is justified only in those cases where it is carried out in the interests of peace and strengthening friendly relations between peoples, if its program excludes materials which propagandize the ideas of war, militarism, Nazism, national and racial hatred, or which are of an amoral, inflammatory nature. NTV could be carried to foreign states solely with the agreement of the latter.

[Question] It is a well-known fact that long-range probes--study of the Earth's surface from artificial satellites--has now taken on large scope. How is this kind of human activity being regulated?

[Answer] Long-range Earth probes (DZZ's) are utilized extensively in order to prospect for minerals, to determine the status of forest, grass, and ice covers, as well as lands suitable for agriculture, to obtain data concerning environmental pollution....



Inasmuch as many states are interested in obtaining such materials, while only a few of them can conduct DZZ's, international cooperation in this sphere has attained great importance. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries participating in the Interkosmos Program have accumulated quite a bit of experience here with regard to making fruitful, mutually advantageous contacts. Nevertheless, there is a persistent need to work out legal norms for DZZ's, since the danger exists that countries possessing space technology, in probing the territories of other states, could utilize the data for the detriment of the latter.

[Question] Tell us, is there at least one problem in space law which has been solved?

[Answer] Not just one. There is an entire group of international agreements which develop and supplement these principles.

Already-existing legal norms obligate a country on whose territory the astronauts of another country have turned up after suffering a disaster to immediately take all possible measures to save them and to render them all necessary aid. Initiator for working out such an international agreement in our country was Sergey Pavlovich Korolev.

A Convention has likewise been signed concerning international responsibility for damage caused by space objects. According to this Convention, the state which has launched such an object bears absolute responsibility for paying out compensations for damages caused by its space object to the Earth's surface or to an aircraft in flight. A Convention on the registration of objects being launched into space has established the mandatory national and international registration of such objects. Other international agreements have also been concluded; many of them regulate the scientific and technical cooperation between states.

[Question] "Detriment," "as such," "aircraft,".... All that remains is to add something like "to bring an action" and we would have a kind of criminal code...

[Answer] Don't forget that we are speaking about the law, and it requires precision.

[Question] Well, if that's the way it is.... How should I conduct myself if somewhere between the Cancer and Pisces Constellations I encounter some kind of intelligent cross between a shrimp and a hare? What does space law say with regard to this?

[Answer] (The professor laughs). There are still no treaties or conventions on this score; you know, we haven't even met any Martians yet. But, it should be noted, legal scholars at the very beginning of the space age did attempt to come up with a fundamental principle for communicating with members of extra-terrestrial civilizations. It sounds something like this: act in such a way as you would like them to act towards you....

[Conclusion] Thank you for the advice.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### NOVEMBER 1985 CORRESPONDENTS' ASSIGNMENTS ABROAD

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 58-59

[Article: "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Vladimir Ilyich BELETSKIY has been confirmed as the director of Soviet television and radio in Poland.

Born in 1939. Graduated from the journalism department of Moscow University. Worked as an editor for the Chief editorial office of international information of Novosti News Agency. Since 1967 he's worked for the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gosteleradio]. He was an editor and reviewer for the department of international life at the Chief editorial office for propaganda of Central domestic radio-broadcasting. Since 1984 he's been a special correspondent for the international information department of Central Television's Chief editorial office of information.

Aleksey Vasilyevich VORONIN has been confirmed as a correspondent for TASS in Australia.

Born in 1945. Graduated from Moscow University. Has worked in the press since 1967. He was an editor and the person responsible for seeing items through press in the American countries editorial office of the TASS Chief editorial office of foreign information; he was a senior editor, and a correspondent for the USA branch of TASS. Since 1983 he's worked as a correspondent for TASS in Uganda.

Andrey Viktorovich DUBROVSKIY has been confirmed as the head of the Novosti News Agency bureau in the Republic of Benin.

Born in 1952. Graduated from Moscow University. Has worked for Novosti News Agency since 1974. He was a reviewer, an editor at the Northern Europe consolidated editorial office of the chief editorial office for Western Europe, an editor for the editorial office of photographic illustrations of Novosti News Agency, and an editor-consultant. He is a candidate in history.

Vasily Ivanovich ZUBKOV has been confirmed as the head of the Novosti News Agency bureau in the Republic of Guinea.

Born in 1947. Graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations. Has been working for Novosti News Agency since 1975. He was a reviewer and an editor in the chief editorial office of Near and Middle East and Africa, and head of the Novosti News Agency bureau in Mali. Since 1983 he has been senior editor of the Tropical Africa consolidated editorial office of Novosti News Agency's Chief editorial office of Near and Middle East and Africa.

Igor Nokolayevich KOLGANOV has been confirmed as a correspondent for TASS in the Republic of Uganda.

Born in 1939. Graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations. Has worked for TASS since 1974. Was editor of the main bulletin for the press, editor for the Asian countries editorial office of the chief editorial office of foreign information, and editor for the TASS branch in India. Since 1984 he has been the person responsible for seeing items through press for the Asian countries editorial office of the TASS Chief editorial office of foreign information.

Veniamin Ivanovich POPOV has been confirmed as editor-in-chief of the chief editorial office for Broadcasting to Socialist Countries of Central Broadcasting to Foreign Countries.

Born in 1925. Graduated from the Higher Party School of the Central Committee. Has worked for the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting since 1951. He was an editor, reviewer, and head of the correspondent center of Soviet television and radio in Algiers. Since 1976 he has been a chief deputy director--head of the department of broadcasting to foreign countries for the Chief board of programs of Central Broadcasting to Foreign Countries of the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting.

Boris Sergeyevich RODIONOV has been confirmed as a correspondent for IZVESTIYA in Hungary.

Born in 1934. Graduated from Moscow University. From 1957 to 1962 he worked as a correspondent in the department of broadcasting to Hungary for the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting. He has worked for the IZVESTIYA since 1963: he was a literary collaborator, a special correspondent, a reviewer for the department of socialist countries, and a correspondent for IZVESTIYA in Hungary. Since 1979 he has been deputy editor of this newspaper in the department of socialist countries.

Robert Semenovich SEREBRYANNIKOV has been confirmed as the head of the TASS branch in Spain.

Born in 1930. Graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations. Has worked in TASS since 1956. Was editor of the department of African countries editorial office of the Chief editorial office of foreign information, editor for the TASS branch in the Republic of Mozambique, and a correspondent for TASS in the Republic of Congo. Since 1985 he's been a correspondent for TASS in the republic of Botswana.

# Correction

In the tenth issue erroneous information was published regarding the assignment of V.A. Dmitriyev. He is working as an editor for the main editorial office of socialist countries of the TASS chief editorial office of foreign information.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE STRUGGLE

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 60-61

[Article by Vladislav Drobkov under the "The World and the Press: Events, Arguments, Commentaries" rubric: "In and Around Allerdink Castle."

[Excerpt] Journalists and scientists from seven countries took part in a discussion on the role and possibilities of the mass media in the strengthening of neighborliness and the development of mutual understanding between peoples.

In March of 1985 the "Allerdink Foundation" held its first large-scale meeting in which journalists and scientists from seven states took part: the leading commentators from Netherlands television and local newspapers, journalists from Hungary, France, the FRG, Poland, the USSR and the U.S. The Soviet Union was represented by the authors of the book "Novoye Myshleniye v Yadernyy Vek" New Thinking in the Nuclear Age: An. Gromyko, director of the African Institute, and V. Lomeyko, head of the Press Department in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and V. Molchanov and M. Bruk, journalists from Novosti News Agency.

The frank and pointed discussion lasted several days and was centered on the role and place of journalists in the establishment of balanced, peaceful ties between different countries and peoples, in overcoming the distrust and hostility which have been generated by the "cold war" period. Opposing views and opinions clashed quite often; mutual accusations were heard.

However, the impartial exchange of opinions also revealed a common interest among the discussion participants in the fact that international information should serve above all the business of peace and a lessening of tension on our planet, that a fuller and more versatile knowledge of the life of foreign countries would promote the spread of a climate of mutual understanding and neighborliness between peoples.

Of course, it would have been interesting for colleagues to find out about this in more detail. But due to an agreement between the participants of the press. The main goal of the discussion was to define what kind of positive contribution television, radio, and the press can make to the improvement of relations between different countries.

At the same time, those gathering at Allerdink Castle could not and, moreover, did not want to cut themselves off from the burning problems of the present. A televised discussion lasting almost an hour was organized within the framework of the meeting. V. Bryugsma, commentator from Netherlands television, An. Gromyko and V. Lomeyko, G. Ruge, a reviewer for FRG television, and diplomatic correspondent for THE NEW YORK TIMES J. Vinokar took part in it. The televised discussion was transmitted to several Western European governments. To the obvious dissatisfaction of John Vinokar, the foreign policy actions of the U.S. were subjected to arguments and criticism; attempts to justify the new nuclear race unleashed by Washington and NATO in Europe were exposed; plans for the militarization of space were condemned.

The reaction was two-fold. The televised discussion evoked a great interest and lively response from the viewers--within a few days it was even repeated by FRG television. But reproaches directed at the organizers were also heard from right-wing circles: directed against those who supposedly had "granted a platform to Kremlin propagandists."

Now, about the reproaches. In spite of the fact that the workers in the mass media invited from socialist countries were in an obvious minority, the meeting in Allerdink Castle even up to its start evoked an unusually noisy reaction in the Netherlands press. A number of newspapers and journals published attacks on the "Allerdink Foundation" and its leaders. The people who had decided to organize the meeting of journalists from governments with different social systems and who had spent quite a bit of time and even their own funds on it began to be blamed for practically all the mortal sins. Right up to the "encouragement of subversive activities against the entire free world on the whole and the Netherlands in particular." The "free press" demonstrated what kind of freedom it advocates. The Dutch journalists pounced upon their compatriots and colleagues from socialist countries who had dared to conduct a discussion on the questions of war and peace.

Without wishing to, the initiators of the attacks against the "Allerdink Foundation" themselves only aroused additional interest in the meeting. Accustomed to interpreting what's going on in a critical way, many Dutch people did not want to take on trust preconceived opinions. The televised discussion, in addition to the now more restrained and objective articles which appeared in the local press after the meeting, demonstrated that the informal exchange of opinions between those who contribute in different countries to the formation of public opinion was extremely useful. The list of the meeting's participants, which was dominated by famous representatives of the American press whom one wouldn't suspect of having "sympathies for the Soviets," refuted the insinuations of the purveyors of disinformation.

In summing up the meeting, F. Lyurving expressed satisfaction in the fact that the "Allerdink Foundation" could add its contribution, though modest, to the business of developing mutual understanding and neighborliness between nations. The same appraisal was also given by many of the participants with whom I spoke.

The commentator from West German television, Gert Ruge stressed that here, in the Netherlands, journalists from different countries striving to find a way to overcome misunderstanding could gather together and talk openly. In order to proceed toward an improvement in relations, trust is necessary, and it is precisely journalists who can play a large role in its strengthening, said G. Ruge. Perhaps it would have been useful to unite the efforts of a few journalists from different countries to write a book or make a film together in which the problems worrying humanity would be analyzed from different positions.

The American political scientist and professor at Princeton University Stephen Cohen declared: "The present meeting allowed us to note the important role which images created by the mass media play in international relations. As an American, I am above all speaking about that image of the Soviet Union which is formed by the press in the United States. It is very important to overcome the old cliches and stereotypes. The mass media is not only a mirror reflecting reality. It is able to actively influence events."

"One of the most important results of the meeting," V. Lomeyko said to me, "is the definite change for the better in public opinion of the countries in the West. The perennial anti-communist, anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, the goal of which was to create an image of 'antagonist,' even 'enemy,' sowed in capitalist governments such seeds of hatred and prejudices which have now produced dangerous, poisonous shoots. So dangerous that a realistically thinking part of the Western community will comprehend the threat being engendered by them as an objective factor of the 'cold war.' The primitive propaganda constructed on the denial of everything positive in the world of socialism and which rouses nationalist prejudices against whole nations now evokes alarm among soberly thinking bourgeois politicians and public figures; the striving to mend the contacts between the representatives of the East and the West appears more and more obviously."

In the course of the meeting many concrete suggestions were made. Of course, not all of them, perhaps even far from all, can be realized, since for their realization not only financial means, but also political will are demanded. I can cite an example: when in December of last year in Zwolle the first contacts between representatives of the mass media East-West took place, workers from the American television company NBC advanced the idea to make a joint film dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, under the conditional name "Meeting at Elba." It had been suggested that not only Soviet and American journalists, but also collaborators from television companies of other countries do interviews with veterans of the war and with young people in order to recall the events which took place forty years ago and to show the situation which is taking shape in the world today. That was the proposal heard from the representatives of NBC. However, within three weeks after the meeting the Dutch received a message: NBC informed them that nothing would come of this undertaking.

In the letter, of course, the real reasons for the refusal were not indicated. However, knowing how the American administration responded to the marking of

the marking of the fortieth anniversary this year, how it tried to please those circles in the FRG which were striving to silence this date, to note it barely as a "day of national mourning," it could not be doubted that the decision of NBC was made under the pressure of official circles in the U.S.

But, one must not fail to take into account those obstacles which now stand and which still can be raised in the future on the path of the development of neighborliness and mutual understanding between nations. Today, from a few, though even in their own way successful meetings between representatives of the mass media from different governments it is difficult to expect any kind of immediate positive results. But the initiative of their conduct itself, originating from the most sober thinking representatives of journalistic, political and business circles of the West, already says much.

In the first place about the fact that the prejudices and taboos of the "cold war" which have been implanted throughout the decades are being destroyed. More and more people in the West see the peoples of socialist countries not from the aspect of "enemy," which is created by militaristic propaganda, but of partners possessing equal rights. Neighbors in a common home, the name of which is planet Earth.

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## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### ARTICLE CRITICIZES U.S. VIOLATIONS OF CSCE ACCORDS

PM300803 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 15, 21 Apr 86 pp 25-26

[S. Rozhkov article: "Who Is Torpedoing the Helsinki Accords"]

[Text] The more than ten years that have passed since the adoption of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have amply demonstrated the vital force of this document, the political significance of the broad concept of security underlying its principles and provisions. The Helsinki accords were intended to put relations between states on a stable basis, to create an atmosphere of trust and security, to remove obstacles to cooperation in the economy, in science, culture, education and other humanitarian fields.

The adoption of the Final Act became possible because the participants in the Helsinki conference were motivated by political will to improve their relations and to ensure security, justice and cooperation.

European progressive opinion is now increasingly focussing attention on how the participating states are living up to the commitments that were undertaken in Helsinki. This question is being raised more and more emphatically, for the Final Act, detente, have struck deep root. The final document of the Madrid meeting of the participants in the all-European process adopted in 1983 augmented and developed a number of provisions of the Final Act and further heightened its significance as a document basic to detente.

#### Attack from Washington

For the spokesmen of the American war industry monopolies detente was nothing short of a scourge. They wanted to scrap it. For who would provide the money for armaments if the prospect was the "true and lasting peace" the Final Act proclaimed as the objective?

The onslaught on the Helsinki accords, which began at the time of the Belgrade meeting in 1977-78 of the participants in the all-European conference, has lately reached a particularly high pitch. If in the beginning spokesmen of the U.S. administration dropped the word "detente," later they found it impossible even to mention the name of the conference and especially the words "security and cooperation."

Why? It is enough to glance at the first section of the Final Act--"Questions relating to security in Europe." It begins with the principles the 35 countries agreed to be guided by in their mutual relations--sovereign equality, non-use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, etc.

Is there anything in common between these principles and the actions of the U.S. in the international arena? How can the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the policy of subversion and open hostility towards Nicaragua be reconciled with the principles of sovereign equality, respect of rights inherent in sovereignty, the right of each people "freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems," or the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples? Cooperation with the South African racists and Afghan counter-revolutionaries are likewise violations of this last principle.

What if not a mockery of the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force is the U.S. armed provocation against Libya or military aid to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bands in Angola?

Spokesmen of the U.S. Administration avoid talking about the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of states. Support of revanchist groups, emigre "ambassadors" and self-styled "ministers," who have been expelled by their own peoples but have found sanctuary in the U.S., and the establishment, through the agency of stooges, of diverse organizations in other countries whose main purpose is to interfere in internal affairs and to disorganize public life are eloquent testimony to Washington's attitude to the principles underlying the peaceful life of the European, and not only European, peoples.

The opponents of detente stop at nothing. They have no qualms about exploiting even religious sentiment. For instance, the international mystic Sannyasins sect, which is rabidly anti-communist in character, had its headquarters in the U.S. state of Oregon and is now active in other countries. The dogmas of this organization release its adherents from the observance of any moral norms.

The U.S. special services totally control the terrorist religious Anand Marg organization, which is used for subversive activity against developing and socialist countries.

Yet the sixth principle of the Final Act reads: "The participating states will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating state, regardless of their mutual relations."

## Formula of Provocation

The significance of the Final Act mounts in step with the increasing realization by world public opinion of the value and importance of its principles and provisions. All the more so since the signatory states declared their intention to order their relations with all other countries in the spirit of these principles.

By the same token American subversive or provocative actions in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East or in Southeast Asia are a violation of both the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki accords.

As Mikhail Gorbachev said in his statement of January 15 this year, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole world expect and demand a turn for the better in the international arena. If such a turn does not take place, the responsibility will rest on the imperialist quarters, above all those of the United States.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "Soviet Military Power" Pentagon "thinkers" maintain that "arms control agreement" (mark you, control over armaments, not over disarmament) "cannot be isolated from the underlying competition between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Thus revalry is the formula of American behavior, primarily in military matters. What about the Final Act, what about "overcoming the confrontation stemming from the character of their (participating states') past relations," what about all the high-minded goals it was pledged to pursue in Helsinki?

A section of the Final Act is devoted to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

The declaration of intent made by the United States together with the other 34 signatories in signing the Final Act involved the political commitment "to promote the development of good-neighborly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean states in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States."

Consequently, the principles of the Final Act are a criterion by which to judge the U.S. provocation against Libya.

Washington occasionally does refer to the Final Act, but these references rarely relate to the commitments it undertook in the section of the Final Act devoted to cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology, and the environment. How indeed can the sanctions, economic blockades, embargoes, trade bans and attempts to disorganize the economy of other countries be reconciled with the provisions of the Final Act?

## "Third Basket" Lies

What Washington likes to talk about is the so-called "third basket" of the Final Act--cooperation in the humanitarian fields. U.S. spokesmen have invested a great deal of effort in misinforming the public as regards the contents of this section. For instance, it would seem that the Final Act contains no mention of cooperation in the field of education. Perhaps the reason is that, as Americans themselves testify, literacy in the United States is a relative concept. The prominent literary critic and author of textbooks on literature, Yale University professor Cleanth Brooks, for instance, has observed that "in important respects we are an illiterate nation. A large section of our population cannot read at all and many of those who can read do not read books." According to the U.S. National Institute of Education, 27 million Americans can neither read nor write, and another 45 million are practically illiterate.

With a considerable part of the population illiterate, it is easier to hold forth about human rights, all the more so since it is the rights of this section of the population that are violated most flagrantly.

To divert the attention of the public from America's problems in the humanitarian sphere, the White House concentrates its propaganda efforts on the situation in other countries, using every possible means for this purpose--lies, distortion of the truth, and juggling with facts. A huge government and propaganda machine is engaged in this.

There is no objective information available in the United States about cooperation within the framework of the Final Act, and the Act itself was published in a very small edition. But there is no dearth of specially prepared materials about the human rights situation in other countries. Every year the State Department sends a volume of such information running to about 1,500 pages to Congress. Besides, every six months the President sends reports to the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Although 33 European countries, the United States and Canada are involved in the Helsinki process, these presidential reports contain no information on Western Europe, not to speak of the United States and Canada.

Curious, too, is the absence in these reports of any mention of the most important problems that occupy the minds of people in all countries--the situation as regards the right to life, the right to work and its guarantees, the right to social security and many other civil, social, economic, political and cultural rights.

Contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act, official American spokesmen do not give a frank account of the human rights situation in their own country. And this despite the abundance of authoritative opinions voiced on this score. Here is a quotation from the draft of a Pastoral Letter of American Catholic Bishops. "Hunger persists in our country, as our church-sponsored soup kitchens testify. Far too many people

are homeless and must seek refuge from the cold in our church basements. As pastors we know the despair that can devastate individuals, families and whole communities when the plague of unemployment strikes. Inadequate funding for education puts a high mortgage on our economic future. Racial discrimination has devastating effects on the economic well-being of minorities. Inequality in employment opportunity, low wages for women and lack of sufficient child care services can undermine family life."

Nevertheless, the U.S. ruling quarters disclaim responsibility for the fate of millions of their compatriots and seek to accustom the public to the idea that a large number of people are superfluous and a burden on society.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schiffer recently said that there are 6 million illegal immigrants in the United States. It would be more correct to say that there are in the country 6 million unfortunates from Latin American and other countries who have been denied the most elementary rights and are subject to the most ruthless exploitation.

In the same statement Schiffer said that 15 percent of the population are below the poverty line set by the U.S. Government.

An idea of how difficult it is to fight for civil rights in the United States is afforded by this statement by civil rights leader Jesse Jackson: "I received 311 death threats in the (presidential election) campaign--more than any candidate in American history."

The U.S. propaganda and special services export the cult of violence and hatred to other countries and are waging a campaign against peace organizations, which are working ever more actively to rid the planet of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

At the same time the need for an exchange of truthful information between countries and a better knowledge of each other's life is making itself increasingly felt. Exchange of objective unbiased information could contribute to the growth of trust between peoples, whereas slander and lies poison international relations.

Achievement of the objectives formulated in the Final Act is inseparable from the situation in Europe. Improvement of that situation could make it easier to resolve humanitarian and other problems.

The Final Act has become an integral part of the political life of Europe, and with the urgent need to bring about a sharp turn towards the policy of peace and to inject new life into detente now on the order of the day, its significance is steadily increasing.

The rebuilding of detente depends on the attitudes taken by all the participants in the all-European process to their own political commitments. European public opinion expects Washington, which has struck so many blows, at detente, to change its policy and actions in the international arena in conformity with the imperatives, the new realities of the time.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### DISCUSSION OF CEMA SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Interview with Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev, under rubric "Socialist Economic Integration": "New Goals in the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries"]

[Text] In late 1985, at the 41st (extraordinary) meeting of the CEMA Session, the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries was adopted. That Program reflects the approaches that must be taken toward the processes and changes in world development and in the life of the socialist community. Its implementation, as was noted in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th party congress, will make possible a significant contribution to the reinforcement of world socialism, and will raise to a higher level the cooperation with the fraternal countries.

The importance of the Program in the development of each of the fraternal countries and the community as a whole, and its content and methods of implementation, were discussed by CEMA Secretary V. V. Sychev in a conversation with this magazine's correspondent, V. G. Kozlov.

Question. Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, it might be desirable to discuss in a compressed manner the importance of the Program for fulfilling the tasks confronting the fraternal countries at the present-day stage.

Answer. The nations of the CEMA member countries, under the guidance of the Communist and workers parties, thanks to the unselfish creative labor and the mobilization by each country of its own resources and as a result of the expansion and deepening of the socialist economic integration, have achieved great successes in the construction of socialism and communism and have entered a qualitatively new and higher stage in development and cooperation in all areas of social life.

A major peculiarity of the present-day period lies in the fact that life itself presents the fraternal countries with the task of the fundamental

intensification of social production. The chief way to resolve this task is to use the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, and to develop and introduce into all branches of the national economy fundamentally new generations of machines and machinery, instruments, and progressive technological schemes and materials.

Forming the basis of the scientific-technical revolution is fundamental research. The resolution of a major scientific problem (from the posing of the task to the practical application of the results) is a job that takes a lot of time and that requires large expenditures of material, labor, and financial resources. If each of our countries acts in this area independently, there will be a duplication of the research, the periods required for that research will be prolonged, and the expenses will increase. The coordinated concentration of the forces and means of the individual countries on specific problems will make it possible more rapidly to achieve the planned results and to reduce the expenses. In addition, the series nature of production with this approach and, consequently, the repayment rate, will be much higher.

It is precisely for that reason that at the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member Countries (June 1984) the task that was noted as one of the chief tasks of cooperation was the elaboration of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000. At the economic conference, a definition was provided for five priority sectors in scientific-technical progress, which must constitute the basis of the Program. Those sectors are: the electronization of the national economy; automation, including robotization, the creation of flexible production systems, machine tools with digital program control, etc.; the accelerated development of nuclear energy engineering; the development of new construction materials and new technological schemes for processing them; and biotechnology.

The adoption of the Program under present-day conditions has not only economic importance, but also large political importance. In order to resolve the new and more complicated tasks we have everything that we need: the planned management of the economy, highly developed scientific-technical potential, and skilled cadres of workers, specialists, and scientists. At the present time the countries of the socialist community employ one-third of all the scientific-technical workers in the world. The scientists and specialists of the CEMA countries make as many as 40 percent of the worldwide total of applications for inventions and receive approximately 20 percent of the patents issued in the world. However, the opportunities are still being used at far from a complete rate: the CEMA countries introduce into production only 30 percent of the total number of joint developments, and the national economy implements only every tenth innovation obtained on the basis of cooperation. All this reaffirms that the Program takes on for our countries strategic importance.

The exceptional role of this very important document was emphasized at the meeting of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev with the chiefs of delegations and secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries who took part in the

extraordinary meeting of the Session. M. S. Gorbachev said that the CPSU views the implementation of the Comprehensive Program as a nationwide and partywide political task.

The importance of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA member countries is difficult to overestimate. In this regard I would like to cite a few ideas that characterize the peculiarities of this document.

First, the Program conforms completely to the economic strategy of taking all steps to intensify the national economy, which strategy has been taken on as standard equipment by the fraternal Communist and workers parties of all our countries.

Secondly, the intensification of production on the basis of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is a very important link in resolving the social tasks which are confronting the countries of the socialist community.

The transition to new generations of highly productive technology and technological schemes under capitalism is fraught with the complication of the mechanism of operation, with the squeezing out of an ever-increasing amount of profit from the skills, intellectual efforts, and nervous energy of the workers. Millions of people who have been thrown out of work as a result of scientific-technical progress are doomed to occupational downgrading and material deprivations and remain without a future.

The socialist consequences of scientific-technical progress under socialism are directly opposite. Cooperating in the major sectors of science and technology, the CEMA countries strive not simply for the qualitative reorganization of the technical base of socialism, but also devote the chief attention to the acceleration of the social purpose of the joint measures, to raising on that basis the level of welfare and the quality of life for the population, the further development of culture, education, and public health, and the considerable increase in the production of consumer goods.

Thirdly, it is emphasized in the Program that the planned measures for developing new types of technology and technological schemes are closely linked with the general line of the CEMA member countries in the struggle for universal peace on earth, to the effect that the resolution of the assigned tasks is possible only under peace conditions and the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution must be aimed at peaceful purposes.

Fourthly, the tasks assigned in the Program have a colossal scope that goes beyond the confines of all the previously adopted CEMA scientific-technical programs. It takes into consideration the significant successes that the CEMA member countries have had in various fields, particularly in the creation of modern computer technology, equipment for nuclear electric-power plants, and space research for peaceful purposes. Multilateral agreements for the creation of microprocessors and robots, automated design systems, and flexible production systems have been concluded and are being implemented. But at the present time the task consists in using the obtained results to go forward to vanguard goals in scientific-technical progress and to introduce the achievements of science and technology into various branches of the national



economy on a broader scale. The Program has posed the task, by the year 2000, of doubling labor productivity and achieving a sharp reduction in the expenditure of energy and raw materials per unit of national income.

Fifthly, the Program provides for the considerable acceleration of the process of the gradual equalization of the levels of economic development in the CEMA countries, and the considerable increase in the effectiveness of scientific-technical and economic assistance on the part of the European CEMA member countries to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Sixthly, the implementation of the CEMA Program will require the further deepening of the cooperation among the CEMA member countries and, I would even say, the transition of that cooperation to a qualitatively higher level. We are confronted today by the task of reorganizing the structure of the CEMA, of bringing about a considerable change in the style and methods of its work, of developing and applying new forms of cooperation, etc.

Question. Why were specifically these sectors chosen as the priority ones?

Answer. Because they form the basis of the modern revolutionary transformations in science, technology, and production. At the present time the branches that have moved into the foreground are such science-intensive branches as air-space technology; the production all classes of computers and the software for them; automation; microprocessors; robotics; laser technology; fiber optics; the production of new materials; control-measurement apparatus and instrument-building; communications technology; and bioengineering. The implementation of the priority sectors will guarantee the conditions for raising the technical level of the national economy and will lead to qualitative shifts in its structure. These sectors constitute the basic content of the coordinated -- and, in certain areas, the single -- scientific-technical policy of the fraternal countries.

Question. I would like to know how the development of such a vast Program was organized, since this is a complicated process.

Answer. For each of the priority sectors, immediately after the Economic Summit Conference, five international collectives of scientists and specialists began working. Those collectives included qualified scientists and specialists from all the CEMA member countries.

It was assumed that, in conformity with the decision of the Economic Conference, the Comprehensive Program would be submitted to the Council Session in the summer of 1986. But in September 1985, on the recommendation of the Soviet side, it was decided to accelerate the work on the Program, so that, by the beginning of the five-year plan, the socialist community would be armed with this important preplanning document. The international collectives of scientists and specialists and the CEMA agencies coped successfully with the assigned task, and on 18 December 1985, at the 41st (extraordinary) meeting of the Council Session in Moscow, the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000 was signed by the heads of government of the countries in the community.

Question. Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, could you please discuss in detail each of the priority sectors.

Answer. Today the electronization of the national economy is already exerting a growing influence literally upon all spheres and branches of production, and also on many other aspects of social life. The broad use of microprocessor technology and the automation of equipment and of technological processes will lead to a situation in which, during the lifetime of the present generation, the number of operating microprocessors on earth will exceed the number of electric light bulbs and will increase by the end of the current century to 5-10 billion. The joint efforts of the CEMA member countries will be aimed at the creation of a new generation of supercomputers, with a speed of more than 10 billion operations a second, and with the application of the principles of artificial intelligence and improved means of man-machine interface, and also aimed at the resolution of the especially complicated scientific tasks and tasks of control.

A task that has been posed is the working out of the problems of the mass production of personal computers and software for them, for use in various branches of the economy and at scientific-research and design organizations, and of resolving the problem of computerization in the education and everyday-services sphere.

The first-priority tasks include the creation of a single system of means for the transmittal of digital information, new-generation high-speed fiber-optics means, satellite communication and television-broadcasting systems, high-quality digital television and stereophonic radio broadcasting, and digital video and sound-recording means. Thus, we are dealing with a substantial qualitative change in the means of communicating between people and between machines.

Inseparably linked with the first sector is the second one in the Program -- comprehensive automation -- since its basic elements also are electronic computers and microprocessors. Cooperation in this comparatively new area also has its own history. Progressive designs for industrial robots, systems for controlling technical processes and production, flexible production systems, etc. have been developed and introduced into production. Czech and Soviet specialists, for example, have worked out the problems of producing the UM-160 robots for servicing metal-cutting machine tools and press equipment. The promising model of the RB-251 welding robot was the result of joint efforts by Soviet and Bulgarian scientists.

The CEMA member countries have broadly extended the work of creating flexible production systems for machine-building. In the GDR [German Democratic Republic -- East Germany], by the middle of 1985 approximately 50 such systems were functioning; the systems were designed for processing bodies of rotation, housing parts, and cylindrical straight-gear wheels. Czechoslovakia is creating GPS [flexible production systems] for machine-building and electrical-engineering enterprises (as of the beginning of 1985, 36 systems were in operation).

The program stipulates the complete automation of various processes -- from research, planning-and-designing, and technological operations to production processes and the technical servicing of the equipment. The application of automated construction-planning systems will make it possible, according to preliminary data, to increase labor productivity in construction-planning and design organizations by 20-50 percent, and to lower the material-intensity of the articles by 3-10 percent. The introduction of flexible production systems will make it possible to increase labor productivity at enterprises by a factor of 1.5-4 times and to increase the work load placed on the equipment to 18-20 hours a day. The use of ASU TP [automated systems for controlling the technological process] will guarantee the increase in labor productivity by 5-10 percent, and the production of output in the highest quality category by 10-15 percent. In addition, the energy consumption will be decreased by 3-5 percent, and the consumption of raw and initial materials by 5 percent. The automation of scientific research and experiments will increase the labor productivity of the scientific workers and will reduce the time required for the implementation of the fundamental decisions by a factor of 2-4.

Both electronization and complete automation, while creating an economic benefit, change the content and nature of labor, reduce manual, uncreative labor, and increase the prestige of the production occupations.

The accelerated development of nuclear energy engineering creates the conditions for the reorganization of the structure of production of energy and heat. Petroleum and fuel oil, and subsequently gas also, will be pushed out of the fuel and energy balance sheet. Correspondingly there will be a considerable reduction in the pollution of the environment.

Already the capacity of the nuclear power stations in the CEMA member countries has exceeded 35 million kilowatts. In the next decade it will reach the 100 million kilowatt level. By the end of the present five-year plan nuclear power stations will produce 40 percent of the electric energy in Bulgaria, 30 percent in Czechoslovakia, 20 percent in Romania, and more than 20 percent in the USSR.

The development of nuclear power engineering in the CEMA member countries in the long-term period will be based on AES [nuclear power stations] equipped with water-moderated water-cooled corps reactors created in the USSR, with a capacity of 440 and 1000 megawatts. In this area a large amount of experience in joint work has been accumulated and it has yielded good practical results. The countries in the socialist community and Yugoslavia have been carrying out since 1980, on the basis of a multilateral agreement, the specialized production of more than 140 specific kinds of equipment for nuclear power stations that are equipped with those reactors. Approximately 50 industrial enterprises and organizations in eight countries have been participating in it.

The Soviet Union delivers approximately 50 percent of the basic equipment in the overall volume of shipments by the countries participating in the Agreement. Czechoslovakia, with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union, has assimilated the production of VVER-440 reactors, steam generators, volume compensators, pipelines, apparatus, and special pumps. At the present time

Czechoslovakian industry can deliver more than 80 percent of the total amount of technological equipment for the VVER-440 energy units. The firms participating in the deliveries include Skoda, Vitkovice, the Sigma Association, etc. Bulgaria specializes in the production of equipment for biological protection, technological-transport equipment, special pumps, and fittings. Hungarian industry produces equipment for special water purification, overload machinery, and special repair equipment. Hungary also is carrying out a scientific-technical program that is aimed at developing an automated system for controlling the equipment used in special water purification and the overload machinery. East Germany delivers overhead cranes, technological-transport equipment, and specialized fittings, and Poland delivers volume compensators, steam generators, steam-superheater separators, heat-exchange equipment, reserve diesel-generator units, and control apparatus. Romania specializes in the production of main circulating pumps, hydraulic tanks for the emergency cooling of the active zone, overhead cranes with a hoisting capacity of 320 tons, and other equipment. A considerable volume of special fittings is produced by enterprises in Yugoslavia.

The specialization and cooperative action in production in the field of nuclear instrument building are also carried out within the framework of the Interatominstrument international economic association.

In nuclear power engineering, qualitative changes are developing rapidly. Whereas previously it was aimed only at the production of electricity, the Program stipulates its broad use for the production of heat. A large amount of attention is paid to scientific research that is linked with the creation of the newest technology for fast-neutron reactors, which reproduce nuclear fuel. In the course of joint scientific activity within the framework of this sector we will be able to approach very closely the creation of practically inexhaustible sources of energy on the basis of a controllable thermonuclear reaction.

A very large amount of importance, under conditions of the intensification of the national economy, is attached to the development and assimilation of new materials and the technological processes for producing and handling them. The introduction of highly durable, corrosion-resistant, and heat-resistant composition and ceramic materials and new plastics; the application of the methods of powder-metallurgy methods and technological lasers for welding and heat treatment, and of plasma, vacuum, and detonation technological schemes; and the use of pulse effects and of explosive energy for synthesizing superhard materials -- these constitute a far from complete list of the tasks planned by the Program. Their implementation will guarantee the higher reliability and longer service life of machinery and equipment, the reduction of their material-intensity and production costs, and the saving of rare and valuable metals. For example, powder metallurgy makes it possible to manufacture parts with any configuration without any waste products. When using this method of manufacture to produce only 1000 tons there is a saving of as much as 15 million rubles and 2500 tons of rolled ferrous and nonferrous metals, and 190 persons and 80 machine tools are freed for other operations. Or take, for example, the replacement of metals by structural plastics. It has been computed that one kilogram of structural plastics replaces at least

4-5 kilograms of rolled metal. The labor-intensity of producing one ton of plastic articles is, on the average, 540 man-hours less than when they are manufactured from metal, and the energy expenditures are one-third to one-half less.

There is yet another important area in this priority sector -- the creation of new semiconductor materials which are necessary for a new generation of elements and articles in electronic, computer, and other technology. In a number of instances these are fundamentally new materials, including metals and alloys. Preliminary estimates indicate that within the next 5-10 years the average annual increase in the consumption of these metals will be from 3 to 8 percent. The new materials will make it possible to replace and to use for other purposes platinum, cobalt, nickel, chrome, molybdenum, tungsten, niobium, and other rare metals.

The implementation of this sector of the Program will radically raise the technical and technological level of production in machine-building, metallurgy, electronics, the electrical-engineering and chemical industry, and other very important branches of the national economy of the CEMA member countries.

The Program attaches great importance to the accelerated development of biotechnology. Whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century the use of biological processes and agents for production purposes -- and this is precisely what is understood by the term biotechnology in the broad sense of the word -- was limited to breadbaking, cheese making, viticulture, the silaging of fodders, etc., in recent years biotechnology has been converted into one of the powerful branches of production. The methods of gene engineering have made it possible to change over to the designing of the genetic apparatus, that is, to the purposeful changing of the properties of individual types of cells. The ways to create hybrid cells, the fusion of cells, and the cultivating of the obtained hybrid until artificial conditions are also feasible by methods of cell engineering. The methods of protein engineering make it possible to construct proteins with assigned quantitative parameters, which then can be synthesized with the aid of methods of gene engineering. The task of creating effective biological catalysts and of microbiological synthesis, and the industrial use of enzymes are among the tasks to be resolved by engineering enzymology. It is difficult even to imagine all the opportunities that are opened up by the methods mentioned, which as a whole constitute the basis of modern biotechnology.

Biotechnology is employed for the production of cellulose from sugar and from starch. It is effective when creating purification structures and is being used increasingly for the extraction of metals from ores and industrial waste products, for increasing the petroleum yield from the geological strata, and in the obtaining of fuel. According to existing estimates, a greater part of the output of the chemical industry can be produced as a result of the introduction of biotechnology. Analysis indicates that within a short period of time it will become possible, with the aid of biological processes, to obtain 10-12 percent of organic raw materials and to manufacture more than 100 different kinds of products. Specialists assume that the creation of microelements on the basis of organic molecules will play a key role in the

transition to so-called biocomputers. The capacity of their storage will be a billion times greater, and their speed will be 100 million times faster than in the models operating on ordinary integrated circuits.

The unification of the efforts of the CEMA member countries in the development of biotechnology will promote the more effective prevention and treatment of serious diseases, the creation of highly effective medicines, the sharp increase in the foodstuff resources, and the considerable improvement of the environment.

Even this very brief listing of the basic content of the five priority sectors in the Program facilitates making a conclusion about the truly revolutionizing influence that the Program will exert upon the national economy of the CEMA member countries.

Question. Would it be possible for you, in the most general terms -- inasmuch as not too much has passed since the adoption of the Comprehensive Program -- to say something about the organizing of its fulfillment and, possibly, the first results?

Answer. The adoption of the Program, as has also been demonstrated to a certain degree, was one of the most important events in the life of the CEMA member countries. But obviously that was only the first, albeit a very important step in the carrying out of the tasks that were set down by the Economic Conference. Now the task requires the rapid and precise implementation of what was planned.

Participating in this work are 17 CEMA agencies under the overall coordination of the CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation. In order to organize cooperation in the priority sector "Creation and Assimilation of New Materials and Technological Processes for Their Production and Handling" and "Biotechnology," two new permanent commissions have been created.

The Program includes 93 comprehensive problems, each of which contains general topics and assignments. More than 700 scientific organizations are involved in the fulfillment of the assignments. Their goal is to guarantee the final production results, and to assure close cooperation within the framework of the CEMA. The basic link at such time is represented by the lead organizations that are the coordinators of the projects dealing with specific problems. Their task is to guarantee the continuous communication among the various stages -- from the scientific development to the organizing of specialized production, sales, and technical servicing. They are given the right to conclude economic contracts, including contracts with partners in other CEMA countries, and to carry out the reciprocal transfer of the results of the joint projects.

For the carrying out of this work, the Soviet Union has assigned the most authoritative scientific, design, and scientific-production collectives, and, in particular, 11 of the 16 interbranch scientific-technical complexes (MNTK) that were recently created. For example, the Robot interbranch scientific-technical complex will head all the work being carried out in the country to create robotized complexes of flexible automated systems for modernizing the

machine processing and assembly, and simultaneously will fulfill the functions of the lead organization and coordinator of the projects for the corresponding problem in the Program.

The basic emphasis in the implementation of the Program is being placed on the rapid and broad production assimilation of the results of scientific research and design developments. Within the next three years the development for the most part will make it possible to introduce into production the models of new output and technological schemes. Subsequently the scope of the production assimilation will grow.

The first-priority task of the CEMA agencies at the present time is the prompt preparation of multilateral agreements for implementing the problems of the Program, as well as the organizing of monitoring of their fulfillment. During the first half of 1986 alone it will be necessary to conclude 67 new agreements and to refine 84 existing ones.

In this regard I would like to dwell on two factors. First, the countries have agreed that no later than a year before the completion of the scientific-technical developments of new types of technology and technological schemes, they will guarantee the preparation of the necessary agreements and treaties of cooperation in their production on the basis of specialization and the formation of cooperatives. Secondly, it is planned to expand the practice of concluding agreements of a comprehensive nature for the entire cycle -- from scientific research to the production and sale of the output.

Question. Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, are any new forms of organizing cooperation planned in connection with the Program? How will direct ties develop?

Answer. Yes, a number of long-range organizational forms of joint activity in the implementation of the Program are planned. Contacts in the field of scientific-technical and planning-and-designing activity are moving into the foreground. In order to unite the tremendous scientific potential of our countries in the decisive sectors of the scientific-technical revolution, it will be necessary to have more interaction in the sector of the formation of scientific-technical cooperatives and the joint carrying out of major scientific-technical developments. Therefore it is planned to expand the direct ties among the scientific and design organizations and production enterprises of the CEMA member countries. This is the manifestation of the completely natural tendency of the complete rapprochement of the socialist countries. Direct ties are a form of cooperation among the associations, enterprises, and organizations of the fraternal countries with which they can make and carry out joint decisions in a time-responsive manner (the time-responsive manner of making and carrying out decisions is one of the chief requirements at the present-day stage). In addition to high time-responsiveness in making decisions about various questions of cooperation, the direct ties intensify the personal responsibility of the administrators of the appropriate enterprises.

The expansion of direct ties between enterprises does not mean a retreat from the centralized administration of foreign-economic ties. It does not replace

cooperation on the level of the country or branch, but organically supplements it and thus intensifies the stability of the international socialist division of labor.

A form of the organizing of direct ties that will become a new one is the creation of joint scientific-research institutes, laboratories, planning-and-designing bureaus, and experimental production entities. In the course of the 41st meeting of the Council Session, an agreement was signed concerning the creation of the multilateral Interrobot scientific-technical association. Its task is the development of a system of unified robots for various purposes, which will be used primarily as part of automated complexes. Previously, two Soviet-Bulgarian associations were created in the field of machine-tool building. In the future this practice will be considerably expanded.

Question. What will be the sources for financing the projects in the Comprehensive Program and how are its assignments taken into consideration in the plans of the CEMA member countries?

Answer. In order to finance the projects dealing with the Program problems, three different forms will be used: own funds; credit granted by international banks created by the CEMA member countries; and, finally, jointly created special funds for financing certain of the most important measures. Naturally, questions of financing must be resolved individually for each problem, depending upon the degree to which it has been developed, the makeup of the participants, and other conditions.

As for the second part of the question, the CEMA member countries have agreed that the Program assignments will be included in the national five-year and annual plans. In particular, the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and for the Period Until the Year 2000 have reflected all its chief topics. And that means that the fraternal countries will define the specific participants in the Program (currently they have already been defined for most of the problems and assignments), will provide them with the necessary resources, and will establish the proper monitoring of their execution of their duties, as stipulated by the Program, including the monitoring at a high governmental level.

Question. How will the activities of the CEMA change as a result of the adoption of the Comprehensive Program?

Answer. The Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress is currently the chief sector in the activity of the CEMA. For purposes of guaranteeing its implementation, it is planned to carry out the necessary changes in the Council structure and in its work style and methods, to make the decisive-making mechanism more time-responsiveness, and to reinforce the discipline of fulfillment of agreements and treaties.

Question. The importance of the Comprehensive Program is not limited to the framework of the countries in the socialist community. How has the press in the other countries, and in particular the press in the developed capitalist countries, responded to the adoption of the Program?



Answer. The adoption of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000 was an event which could not remain unnoticed by the world press. Actually, in late December many newspapers began printing reports discussing the decisions of the 41st meeting of the CEMA Session in Moscow. If one speaks about the Western press, then a feature that it has in common is the restraint, the lack of any serious comments on the substance of the Program. Nevertheless, many journalists could not refrain from making a number of incompetent comments which repeat the old favorite motifs of bourgeois propaganda. For example, the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG repeated the hackneyed thesis concerning "diktat" on the part of the Soviet Union, going so far as to state that the creation of fundamentally new types of organizations that will play the leading role in the CEMA Program had been begun on the insistence of the USSR.

What can one say in this regard? The Comprehensive Program is not an "invention" of the Soviet Union. It was developed by international collectives of scientists and specialists from all the CEMA member countries and it is based on the national programs of scientific-technical progress. The fact that the Soviet side, at the request of the other member countries in the community, assumed the responsibility of coordinating the projects involved in the creation of the Program is completely natural, since it is precisely the Soviet Union that possesses the greatest scientific-technical and production potential, as well as the greatest amount of experience in conducting projects of this sort.

Incidentally, it might be desirable to consider what people are thinking in this regard in the CEMA member countries themselves. For example, the Polish newspaper TRIBUNA LUDU writes, "By acting jointly with the other socialist countries that currently unite one-third of the world's potential in the field of research and development, we have all the necessary conditions for the independent resolution of the problems and decisive questions about our future, and about the guaranteeing of the complete development of our national economies in conformity with the needs and strivings of the societies that are entering the twenty-first century."

The Czech newspaper RUDE PRAVO remarks that the scope of the scientific-technical progress at the present time is so great that it does not permit the individual countries independently to move ahead successfully along that path, as a result of which the CEMA countries have come to an agreement about the joint Program for the consolidation of their efforts and funds and about the efficient division of labor and cooperation.

Naturally, in the course of implementation of the Program, one can also note new forms of cooperation. As I have already mentioned, the international scientific-technical complexes that are being created in the USSR are planned as certain lead organizations to act as the coordinators of the projects involved in the Program problems. Those complexes actually will play the guiding role in the implementation of the Program. But that does not mean that the organizations of this type must necessarily be created in the other CEMA member countries, as was mentioned by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG.

Question. The Western press has stated frequently that the Comprehensive Program of the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries is an analogue of the Western scientific-technical programs, in particular the Eureka program. What can you say in this regard?

Answer. The decision to develop our Program, as is well known, was made at a time when no one had even heard of the Eureka program. Without a doubt, for such large-scale programs, there cannot fail to be points of contact, or areas of research in common. But, unlike the Western programs, the carrying out of the transition to the new generations of highly productive technology and technological schemes in the countries of the socialist community is directed at the raising of the standard of living of all members of society, is not accompanied by the exploitation of man by man, by competition, unemployment, etc. Our Comprehensive Program is not linked with the arms race and, consequently, it conforms to the interests of mankind as a whole.

Question. How, then, will the countries that are not part of the CEMA be able to take part in the implementation of the Program and to take advantage of its results?

Answer. Speaking at the meeting with heads of delegations of the fraternal countries that participated in the 41st CEMA Session, M. S. Gorbachev remarked that the Program provides for the active participation in scientific-technical interaction of all the interested socialist countries. He said, "While uniting our efforts, we obviously are not rejecting broader international scientific-technical exchange."

The CEMA member countries, by carrying out scientific-technical cooperation, particularly with the developing countries, transfer to them the technical documentation for the manufacture of machinery and equipment, licenses, and know-how, and carry out the exchange of information and delegations of scientists and specialists. The terms for the transmittal of the results are stipulated in the corresponding contracts.

I would like to re-emphasize the open nature of the Program, and of all the preceding CEMA documents of a fundamental nature. By this Program the CEMA countries are again extending their hand for mutual action, since they are convinced that international economic cooperation must be of a global nature. The CEMA member countries intend to continue participating actively in the worldwide division of labor and in scientific-technical cooperation. However, they will be increasingly decisive in rejecting the policy of discrimination and bans to which the United States and other capitalist countries resort in a number of international economic ties, contradicting the essence of scientific-technical progress. Yes, the CEMA member countries want to achieve, by means of the implementation of the Program, their technical and technological invulnerability against the Western countries, and this is the natural response to the policy of bans against the sale of modern technological schemes to the socialist countries, the restrictive COCOM lists, and other discriminatory measures. Who can reproach the socialist countries for wanting to guarantee themselves against the consequences of this kind of discriminatory policy on the part of the Western countries?

Despite the previously mentioned comments that are contained in the press of the Western countries, on the whole not a single one of the reports that we currently have at our disposal have placed in doubt the feasibility of the Program. And this is not surprising, if one realizes that the countries in the socialist community have repeatedly demonstrated to the world its ability to work together and to resolve successfully the most complicated tasks.

In conclusion I would like to make the following statement. The development of the CEMA Program, as was already mentioned, on the recommendation of the Soviet side has been substantially accelerated. The CEMA agencies and international economic organizations have demonstrated their ability rapidly and efficiently to resolve the new complicated tasks. The qualities that have been developed in the course of the preparation of the Program -- a businesslike style, time-responsiveness and precision in performing the work -- will undoubtedly promote its implementation. Real experience attests to the fact that the implementation of the measures in the Comprehensive Program opens up new possibilities in the development of the material-technical base of the countries in the socialist community and will bring closer the attainment of the cherished goal of mankind as a whole -- the building of a communist society.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### BOOK REVIEW: INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY AND CREDIT RELATIONS

Moscow DENG I KREDIT in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 76-78

[Review by L. A. Serebryakova, candidate of economic sciences, of book "Mezhdunarodnyye valyutno-finansovyye i kreditnyye otnosheniya" [International Currency-Finance and Credit Relations] edited by Professor A. M. Alekseyev, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1984, 592 pages]

[Text] The problems of international currency-finance and credit relations are attracting increasingly greater attention, going beyond the bounds of the interest of narrow specialists. This is connected, in particular, with the fact that in the currency sphere, during the comparatively brief historical period of the post-war years more principled changes have occurred than in a number of other sectors of economic relations.

Recently the Soviet literature on currency problems has been enriched by yet another publication.\* The monograph under review was written by a group of Soviet scholars on international affairs and highly qualified practicing specialists. Its chief distinction from works published previously on this topic is its broad grasp of the material. The monograph's five large parts, containing 31 chapters, examine in a step-by-step fashion the present-day status and the urgent problems of the currency systems of the capitalist world and of the CEMA member-countries, as well as the currency-finance and credit relations between the countries of the socialist community and the outside world--within the community, with the developing states having diverse political orientations, and with the industrially developed, capitalist countries.

The complex mechanism of currency-finance and credit relations among countries belonging to different economic systems, political structures, and geographical regions is examined against a broad background of the general economic problems which are analyzed in the first section of this monograph. Despite the diversity and even contrary natures of the economic ways of life in different countries, the division of labor, which has become continually more profound in the world, is leading to the development of useful and mutually advantageous economic ties among countries and regions.

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\* See: "Mezhdunarodnyye valyutno-finansovyye i kreditnyye otnosheniya" [International Currency-Finance and Credit Relations] edited by Professor A. M. Alekseyev, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1984, 592 pages.

This book shows that the USSR and the other socialist countries, by carrying out their own foreign economic activities under the world economic business conditions as they have taken shape, demonstrate the advantages of a planned direction of the economy, including that by means of their own currency relations.

Another interesting characteristic of this monograph is the fact that the authors conduct their analysis, so to speak, on two levels: study of the two systems of capitalism and socialism--different in principle with regard to their contents--has been combined with an analysis of the specific practice of their functioning, which is examined in those sections devoted to the institutional and organizational-legal mechanism of currency relations (Part 5); to the banking systems of capitalism and socialism which service the currency and international credit relations, as well as the network of their foreign institutions; to the international capital market in European currencies; to the international financial centers of the world; to currency risks and protection against them in international credit and accounting operations.

Constituting a new factor for such a monograph is an analysis of the militarization of the world economy on international economic and, in particular, currency relations. This problem is examined by the authors in its specific, currency-financial aspect (Chapters 5 and 6). Expenditures on arms have become, in essence, the leading item in the budgets of all the imperialist states: the sum total of military allocations--direct, indirect, and covert--according to estimates, has reached 50 percent of budgetary expenditures (p 104). Dozens of young states which have recently acquired their independence have been drawn into the orbit of the arms race; their military expenditures are growing at higher rates than they are in the world as a whole (p 124). The authors justifiably note that, in contrast to the traditional trade in peaceful items, the export of arms is a factor for destabilizing international economic relations: this is the most unhealthy method of all those which the imperialist countries are using in order to level off their own trade and payments balances. At the same time the increase in arms imports by the developing countries is one of the reasons for the growth of deficits in their balances of payments and for the increase in their foreign indebtedness, which is growing at an unnaturally high rate, thus retarding the normal socio-economic development of these countries.

It is meritorious of this group of authors that they have not avoided paying attention to controversial questions connected with the functioning of the monetary-credit systems of the capitalist countries. They have summarized the facts and arguments, as well as delineating certain conclusions at which the authors have arrived in certain instances, for example, with regard to the present-day inflation or the gold problem. At the same time the nature of setting forth the material in this monograph does not close off the path to further discussion of the problems, but rather arouses thought and stimulates discussion.

Thus, one of the monograph's chapters is devoted to the complex problem of present-day inflation, its sources and role in the economy--a topic which is under discussion in our literature. In our opinion, the monograph correctly, taking into account all the argumentation which exists in the present-day literature on this question, considers this problem, first of all, from the

viewpoint of monetary relations and state budgetary-monetary policy; at the same time it recognizes the "multiple-factor quality" of the derivation of this phenomenon, the examination of which quite often, however, leads researchers too far from the sphere of money and finances. The author convincingly demonstrates that the governments of the present-day capitalist countries do not have at their disposal other, direct levers for influencing the economy, and, therefore, they place the main emphasis on budgetary and credit-monetary channels of regulating the economy; this has "created a powerful and permanent hotbed of inflationary pressure in the economy" (p 82). This work analyzes not only the theoretical aspects of inflation but also shows the specific channels through which the processes are carried out, equal-value issuances of supplementary money, even though direct issuance in this connection may be formally placed under controls and not increased. Special attention is accorded to the channel of importing inflation and the role of the world capitalist currency system as a transmission mechanism for disseminating inflation from its principal centers throughout the entire world. It is shown how the official legitimized system of floating currency exchanges facilitates this process.

In one way or another a number of pages of this monograph are connected with another leading discussion in the economic literature with regard to the contemporary role played by gold in international currency, or, to put it more precisely, in international monetary relations (p 580), the fate and future prospects of this traditional monetary commodity under the conditions of its official elimination from inter-state accounts, as confirmed by the Jamaica Agreement between the IMF [International Monetary Fund] countries, which went into effect on 1 April 1978.

It is characteristic that in almost all the chapters of the book's second part, devoted to various problems of the capitalist currency system, the various authors, in one way or another, have reflected their own attitudes toward the gold problem. However, the monograph also contains special sections which are devoted to the gold problem as such. In our opinion, it was successful to juxtapose the two chapters in which the "gold problem" is examined in a comprehensive manner but from quite distinctive points of view, although the authors, well-known scholars on international affairs, could scarcely be called opponents in principle.

Thus, the reader is invited, as it were, to do some independent thinking, after first having followed an analysis of the actual state of affairs as set forth here along with diverse argumentation. If one author draws the unambiguous conclusion that "gold in its present capacity does not exercise any monetary functions" (p 279), that "gold has ceased to exercise any monetary functions in the world arena as well" (p 271), that "at the present time gold is no longer either national or world money, although it does retain an importance as a reserve of international liquidity" (p 285), the other author is less categorical, considering that "at the present time the status of gold in the international capitalist monetary mechanism is marked by a great deal of indefiniteness and contradictions.... For all practical purposes gold has now ceased to function as an inert reserve fund and only potentially ensures the international liquid means of payment" (pp 253-254). Thus, to our way of thinking, if in the first instance gold has been essentially and with logical

finality been removed from the monetary sphere; in the second instance it is retained, albeit with well-known stipulations. An attentive reading of the two items on gold placed in this monograph will assist many persons who have not made a special study of these problems to take a more definite position with regard to this complicated question.

At the same time an objection arises concerning the introduction into scientific circulation, when elucidating the problems of gold, of new terminology which lacks a precisely defined content. In order to avoid recognizing gold as money, the authors call it a "liquid asset," a "liquid reserve," a "liquid banking asset, a special liquid commodity asset," functioning merely in a unique kind of "quasi-monetary role" (p 581). All these concepts are reminiscent of financial-technical jargon, and it is a bad idea to include them in a Marxist conception of money, as is also the case with the very concept of "international liquidity."

With all the merits of their analysis of the gold problem, the authors have, in our opinion, somewhat impoverished the "material for thought" by consciously leaving aside the most complex question of the performance under present-day conditions of the role of a universal value in the sphere of world-economic relations, i.e., concerning the function of an international measure of value. Although in the course of their study the authors inevitably touch upon many theoretical aspects of money, in this monograph one senses a certain lacuna in connection with the lack of a special theoretical section concerning present-day money, including world money, concerning the characteristics which have engendered this epoch. The inclusion of such a section could possibly introduce more clarity into the understanding of the essence of contemporary money.

The monograph provides the reader with a concept about the nature or present-day currency relations between states belonging to one type (capitalist or socialist) of currency system, as well as those belonging to various types of currency systems, and this is far from being the same thing. The practice of their implementation is analyzed, their complexities are shown, and quite often even the contradictory nature of these currency relations.

Comprising a distinctive characteristic of the appropriate section of this book is an attempt at a theoretical, political-economic conceptualization of "currency," in particular, of "socialist currency." This merits special attention. Even though the terms "currency" and "currency relations" have now become practically household terms, our literature still lacks a uniform theoretical treatment of the economic category of "currency" and especially of its link with the concepts of "money" and "world money," as well as with the definitions, which have come down to us from juridical practice, of "national," "foreign," "international," "convertible," "non-convertible," and other currencies. The reader of this monograph will, most likely, enrich his own ideas in this area, although a "monistic" view of "currency" may not be created in his mind.

Thus, in one section it is asserted that "...currency...is money which, in one way or another, is inherently characteristic of its fifth function. Currency is the form of world money which is used as a universal means for

payments and purchases, as well as the absolutely public materialization of wealth" (p 358); "one of the distinguishing characteristics of money as currency is its utilization in international economic circulation as a means of keeping international accounts" (loc. cit.). We are also informed that gold and silver were currency in their own time. Another author, however, considers that "currency" (emblematic devices) in the strict sense of the world is merely paper-credit means of payment (p 580). On page 362 it is proposed that a distinction be made between two concepts of currency--the narrowly practical concept, in which currency is monetary material, a determined value, and the broad concept, a political-economic one, in which currency is an objective economic category, expressing historically determined public-production relations, in connection with which the currencies belonging to different social systems should not be mechanically compared to each other.

All these judgements give rise to many questions which are of theoretical and practical interest if we take into consideration, for example, the fact that in state reserves it is traditional to make the distinction between gold and currency, that there is no currency which cannot be converted, that there have come into being and practical use both in the capitalist and in the socialist world collective currencies on an agreed-upon international basis. The variegated opinions about currency which are contained in this monograph can serve as a unique prologue to a broader discussion of this set of problems, a quest for a link between the theoretical models of currency and the realities of the world economy.

The monograph under review here, which constitutes at one and the same time a scholarly and quite a popular study of international currency-finance and credit relations, will be of interest both for specialists as well as for a wide circle of readers.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

'DANGEROUS' U.S. POLICY OF NEOGLOBALISM ASSAILED

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Feb 86 p 3

[[Article by Sergei Losev, political commentator, under the "Abroad" rubric: "The United States: Crack Troops for Dirty Deeds: An Opinion on Events"]]

[Text] This heading was not thought up by us, but taken from a January article of the weekly TIME, which has decided to explain to the readers what the American policy of so-called "new globalism" represents.

The people of the United States had already nicknamed the Vietnamese adventure a "dirty war" at its very beginning during the stage of the "incursion" of the United States into Indochina when the "Green Berets"--the special crack troops--primarily conducted the military and clandestine operations. As you remember, this led to sending to Vietnam half a million American members of a punitive expeditionary corps which was supported by all the might of the U.S. military machine.

Now the Pentagon is using the apparently scientific terms "neoglobalism" and "small intensity conflicts" in order not to arouse in Americans sad memories about the bitter lessons of the ignominious failure of the Vietnamese adventure. But, as in the past, these "little wars" threaten to grow into a huge conflagration in Central America and in the South of Africa and in the basin of the Indian Ocean and in the Arab East.

The fact that U.S. military circles are trying to exacerbate confrontational situations, in particular near Libya, is attracting attention, especially now when the international situation has begun to improve as a result of the Soviet-American summit meeting and under the influence of the new Soviet peace initiatives laid out in the Declaration of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev.

In fact, the exportation of counterrevolution is being carried out under the name of "neoglobalism." The U.S. administration is attempting to appropriate for itself a certain "right" to interfere on a global scale in the affairs of sovereign states, to conduct undeclared wars and covert and overt subversive operations against them, and to implement a policy of state terrorism. Appearing on 4 February at a joint session of both houses of Congress with the traditional "State of the Union" address, President R. Reagan openly promised comprehensive aid and support to counterrevolutionary forces in all regions of the world, threatening those countries and governments whose foreign and domestic policy for some reason or another does not suit the White House. He named Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea among the principal objects of Washington's subversive activities. "Without a doubt, there is no other problem more important for peace in our hemisphere, for the security of our borders and for the defense of our vital interests than winning and establishing democracy in Nicaragua and defending Nicaragua's democratic neighbors," the president claimed.

World public opinion well knows what kind of "freedom" and "democracy" the bands of "Contras," who are made up of former guardsmen of the butcher of the Nicaraguan people Somosa and have been trained and equipped by the CIA, will bring the people of tiny Nicaragua.

In Washington they are obviously dreaming about returning to those times when American monopolies exercised their sway completely and carelessly in Nicaragua with the aid of its henchman and toady, the dictator Somosa, about whom former U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt--we will give him his due for candor--said: "We know that he is a son-of-a-bitch. But he is our son-of-a-bitch...."

The present leaders of the U.S. administration prefer not to call things by their names. On the contrary, they call the bandits and hired assassins "fighters for freedom and democracy." But the crux of things does not change from this. Edgar Chamorra, a former member of the Directorate of the "Contras" who has now broken with them, recently wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES: It is the limit of cynicism to declare that the 'Contras' supposedly respect human rights. Being a member of the Directorate for four years, I can testify that the policy of the 'Contras' consists of terrorizing the native population.

The "Contras," through whose hands Washington is conducting an undeclared war against Nicaragua, have wiped out more than 11,000 Nicaraguan citizens, including women, children and

old men.

As the magazine TIME notes, "the conflict in Afghanistan is an enormous undeclared war which the United States is conducting at the present time." And the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST admits that the secret aid being rendered by the CIA to the Afghan Dushmanis has been transformed into a "very large-scale secret operation that has been carried out by the United States since the Vietnamese War." The United States has already spent one and a half billion dollars to finance terrorist activity against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Recently Congress, through a secret decision, has appropriated another 470 million dollars to the CIA for these aims. Through this money, more than 120 training centers of the bands have been created in the territory of Pakistan alone where CIA instructors are teaching the Dushmanis how to kill, to blow up schools, hospitals and mosques, and to destroy peaceful dwelling places and industrial and agricultural enterprises. During the years of the undeclared war, Dushmani bands have burned and destroyed about 2,000 schools and tens of hospitals, medical stations and mosques, dams and irrigation installations.

The anti-Angolan terrorist group UNITA has approximately the same service record, whose leader, Savimbi, was received with such pomp the other day in the American capital. What is this protege of the special services of the South African Republic and the United States, which the newspaper MONDE calls "the new African idol of American conservatives"? According to the opinion of THE NEW YORK TIMES, the point is about a mercenary politician, "who shows no interest whatsoever in democracy, uses terrorist methods, is unprincipled in regard to originations of the aid, and receives colossal support from the racist South African Republic which uses its troops and airplanes in Angola." In other words, he is conducting a war against the People's Republic of Angola. Savimbi is not a "freedom fighter of Angola," as he himself claims, but an adroit politician and adventurer who has placed himself at the service of an apartheid regime, as a well-known American specialist in African affairs, Professor (Senfor Angar), indicates in THE WASHINGTON POST. The financing of UNITA, he emphasizes, will mean that the United States has in fact entered into a military alliance with Pretoria, without whose aid Savimbi's units would not survive one day.

And the president receives this bandit and terrorist in the White House, the U.S. secretary of state extols Savimbi as "the leader of a military anticommunist crusade," and Pentagon Chief Weinberger promises to make the round of Congress to increase the appropriation to UNITA to

200-300 million dollars.

Using this counterrevolutionary rabble as an instrument to pressure Angola, the United States is trying to achieve its political legalization so that the counterrevolutionaries are not regarded in Africa as marionettes of the South African Republic and mercenary killers, but as "a certain political force", without whose participation a peaceful settlement in the South of Africa is supposedly unthinkable.

The American administration is not shy about choosing the means. (Crocker), an aide to the secretary of state who is knowledgeable about African affairs, cynically declares: "In order to achieve success in diplomacy, it is necessary to resort to pressure."

Ultra-rightists in the United States are already demanding that an economic war be developed against the People's Republic of Angola and the work of the American oil corporations "Gulf Oil" and "Chevron", which are extracting oil on the Angolan shelf, be curtailed, and the use of American special forces is being considered as a last means of pressure, the motto of which says: "Whatever you like, whenever you like, wherever you like, however you like." The Pentagon is now giving paramount importance to the military preparedness and the equipping of special forces aimed at intervention abroad and the support of various bandit formations. Pretending that practically all the regions of the world are a sphere "of the vital interests of the United States," Washington would like to legitimize its policy of interfering in the affairs of sovereign states and peoples and to justify the imperialist policy of the economic suffocation and robbery of developing countries.

The USSR is consistently against such a course. The USSR is against the exportation of revolution and will not allow the export of counterrevolution. In its foreign policy, our country will henceforth strictly proceed from the stance that every people has a sovereign right to follow its own path and to choose for itself its friends and allies. The Soviet Union has been and will be a consistent supporter of the freedom of peoples, peace, security and the strengthening of international law and order. Its goal is not the exaggeration of religious conflicts, but the elimination of them through collective efforts on an impartial basis, and the sooner the better. In the future the Soviet Union will combine a firm rebuff to transoceanic lovers of regional adventures with the manifestation of restraint and constructiveness, and with the goal of eliminating centers of tension.

We must end the hopeless and dangerous policy of so-called "neoglobalism"!

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. ALLEGEDLY PLANNING ANNEXATION OF MICRONESIA

LD112051 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 11 May 86

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)--On 12 May, the UN Trusteeship Council starts discussing the situation in the trust territory of the United Nations, the Pacific Islands Territory, which is also named Micronesia. The NEW TIMES weekly writes this in its latest issue. Back in 1947 the United States was entrusted with administering that territory. The United States, however, has no intention of enabling the trust territory to become an integral, independent state. Washington's aim is to perpetuate its power over those islands on vast expanses of the Pacific.

Speaking on 29 April on Guam, President Reagan described that island "America's flagship in the Western Pacific." "Guam lies within easy range of virtually every city in east Asia." Washington views from this angle also the archipelagos of trust territory Micronesia.

There have already appeared agreements on "community" or "free association" with the United States of four separate parts of Micronesia to which the semblance of state formations was illegally attached.

By splitting Micronesia, imposing shackling agreements on its parts, the United States is actually striving to engulf, to annex Micronesia. And it seeks to do this on the sly, bypassing the Security Council, in violation of the United Nations Charter, the trusteeship agreement concluded in 1947, the United Nations declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

All these "agreements" with Micronesians were worked out by Washington behind the back of the United Nations in whose name the trusteeship system operates.

So the lifting of the United Nations trusteeship over Micronesia, that is ending the responsibility of that universal international organization to the peoples of the Pacific islands is out of question now, the weekly concludes.

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## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### CONTINUED CRITICISM OF U.S. POLICY IN MICRONESIA

#### Referendum in Palau

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 86 p 5

[Article by Oleg Skalkin in Sydney under the rubric "Commentator's Column: "By Right of Might"]

[Text] A referendum has taken place in Palau. The main issue being decided was the relations of this Pacific Ocean island with the United States. The U.S. has imposed upon Palau the status of a "free association" and in this guise attempts to legitimize the use of its territory for the Pentagon's purposes.

According to preliminary results of the referendum, Washington has succeeded in attaining formal approval of the agreement on "association" signed last month.

This referendum was the sixth one held here in recent years. This fact alone attests to the persistence with which the U.S. has forced its will upon the islanders. In 1979 90 percent of the inhabitants of Palau voted for a constitution which expressed their hope for a peaceful life in their native land. A strict ban on all operations with nuclear arms or radioactive wastes, and their storage, testing, or transport was included in the constitution. The decisive antinuclear position of Palau is a reflection of the islanders' deep indignation at the tragic fate of the Bikini and Eninetok atolls, which were turned into radioactive deserts by nuclear tests.

Like these Marshall Islands atolls, Palau is now becoming a part of Micronesia, which has been ruled by the U.S. since the end of World War II. Washington received this mandate with the promise to assist the movement of the inhabitants toward self-determination and independence. But instead, the main "achievements" of the U.S. on the islands have been their enslavement and militarization.

The American administration, in using--more accurately, abusing--its powers, has refused to recognize the results of the 1979 vote on the Palau constitution with its anti-nuclear articles. Under pressure from the U.S. there has been a second referendum, after that a third, and so on.

Only with the sixth attempt for American "guardianship," as it is called, has there been established a "legal" basis for the actual annexation of Palau. The flagrant contradiction of the result of the "referendum" with the basic interests and aspirations of the inhabitants of Palau is obvious. It is also obvious that the attempt of the U.S. to perpetuate its control over the islands, in which they have no rights at all except for the "right of might," is more evidence of the appetites of Washington's "neo-globalists." The arbitrariness of the U.S. towards its trust territory in the Pacific Ocean leads to the trampling of the legal rights of the Micronesians, including the population of Palau, to sovereignty, freedom and independence.

#### Right to Self-Determination

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 86 p 5

[Article by V. Tarasov: "Annexation under the Guise of Trusteeship"]

[Text] The pathos of the solemn promises with which Washington's representatives accepted the mandate for trusteeship over Micronesia in 1947 in the Security Council of the U.N. could almost bring one to tears. The orator spared nothing to convince the world council that only the U.S. and no one else was able and ready to bring to life the statutes of the U.N. on guarantees of "political, economic and social progress of the population of a territory under trusteeship, its progress in the area of education and its progressive development in the direction of self-determination or independence."

The mandate was never carried out because the Pentagon began to assimilate Micronesia (which consists more than 2,000 coral islands in the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall archipelagoes with a population of 135,000 people spread out over a huge territory in the western part of the Pacific Ocean north of the equator) in its own way. They quickly began to place military objects on the gigantic island arc. A program for the deployment and testing of nuclear weapons had already been worked out. Remember that it was from these islands that the planes which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki took off.

By destroying the economic structure of the islands and plunging their population into hopeless destitution, the American "trustees" entangled Micronesia in the snares of economic dependency, reducing the economic activity of the local inhabitants to virtual servitude to American garrisons.

Washington was given a temporary mandate for trusteeship. It has abused its right in the most shameful manner. In these many years the actions of the White House have led not to independence but to seizure and annexation of the islands. In accordance with the colonial prescription "divide and conquer," the U.S. has dismembered Micronesia in order to get its hands on it in pieces. In the beginning the U.S. adhered to the agreement on the "free association" of the Mariana Islands, so the same procedure was carried out with the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia (part of the Caroline Islands). The U.S. Congress adopted, and the president signed, a bill on the "free association" of the U.S. with these islands.

Finally, Palau's, or the Republic of Bealu's (as the rest of the Caroline Islands has come to be called) turn has come. Washington has forced a decision through the U.N. Council on Trusteeship, the majority of whose members are western states, to station a delegation "to observe the course of the plebiscite" on Palau in order to confirm "voluntary" agreement to the union of the islands with the U.S.

By taking Micronesia into its hands, the United States is pursuing its goal of forever maintaining and expanding the military-strategic beachhead it has created in these islands. A testing ground for the MX missile has been installed on Kwajalein Atoll. A U.S. naval base capable of servicing submarines has been built on Palau. Ports and airfields have been built on Saipan and the Tinian Islands. There are also storage facilities for nuclear and chemical arms in the region. The gigantic arc is situated, in the words of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense R. Armitage, "most advantageously." A significant part of the Asian continent is within firing range.

That is one aspect of the Pentagon's military preparations. The other is that testing grounds for nuclear weapons have been built on the islands. Tests have been carried out on Bikini, Eniwetok, Rongelap and many other atolls.

The conversion of Micronesia into a neocolonial possession of the U.S. must be rebuffed. The people of Micronesia, like the people of every country, have an inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of an independent government.

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## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### CLOSER U.S.-USSR TIES URGED, SEEN AIDING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

#### Cultural Ties Agreement Reviewed

PH200807 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Apr 86 p 1

[Editorial: "A Time of Responsibility"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet people and all peoples of the world greeted the news of Washington's new nuclear provocation with indignation and saw it as a flagrant challenge to all mankind. In our country and throughout the world an unfeigned concern is being expressed that the U.S. Administration has taken a step in the direction of giving the arms race a still more reckless nature and that it is going further and further away from the accords which the peoples of the world expect of the two great powers.

Socialism has never pinned its future on military solutions to problems. A world without weapons, a world without wars or vigilance, peace through the world--that is our ideal. Placing nuclear weapons outside the law and completely eliminating the means of mass extermination--that is how the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th Party Congress formulated one of the main tasks of today.

Despite noisy protests from the American and world public, indignant at American imperialism's provocative actions, the U.S. Administration continues stubbornly to follow its course, obediently fulfilling the will of the military-industrial complex. As the April explosion in Nevada confirmed.

The events in Libya also confirmed it. Washington ceaselessly engages in saber-rattling and "muscle-flexing," laying claim to the role of world gendarme. The armed U.S. aggression against Libya, sovereign state and UN member, caused profound indignation among millions of people on all continents. The aggression was carried out within the framework of the frenzied anti-Libyan campaign which the American Administration has been fanning for a long time. Washington clearly does not like the independent anti-imperialist course pursued by Libya, which rejects the American doctrine of "neoglobalism" and consistently advocates the restoration of the Arabs' legitimate rights and the just, lasting settlement of the Near East problem.

Obsessed with the idea of world domination, the American ruling elite, for the sake of purely egotistical, self-seeking goals, for the sake of justifying

its imperial ambitions and militarist aspirations in the eyes of its own people and all the peoples of the world, is vigorously kindling chauvinist sentiments within the country and cultivating the "Soviet military threat" myth.

All this is being done with particular zeal today. And that is not surprising, because, as the results of a public opinion poll carried out by the WASHINGTON POST together with the ABC television show, 74 percent of Americans support the Soviet Union's proposals for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. This state of affairs does not suit the American Administration. Prompted directly by the administration, the U.S. propaganda machine continues to cultivate a distorted picture of our country and of Soviet realities. The results of this subversive activity are, unfortunately, perceptible: 44 percent of Americans, for instance, according to a NEW YORK TIMES poll, do not know that the Soviet Union and the United States were allies during World War II (28 percent even think that the two countries fought against each other).

The breaking of cultural exchanges between the two countries, carried out unilaterally six years ago by the Washington Administration, played a considerable part in bringing about a situation where Americans are so ill informed about Soviet people.

As is known, during the Geneva talks a Soviet-American agreement on exchanges and contacts in the sphere of science, education, and culture was signed. The first steps were taken to restore Soviet-American cultural cooperation. Soviet musicians Yu Temirkanov, the conductor, and N Petrov, the pianist, recently toured in the United States with enormous success. Muscovites applauded the artists of the Children's and Youth Theater from Albany. The A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Visual Arts is now exhibiting a collection of pictures by the French Impressionists and Postimpressionists from Washington. Throughout these years people in the Soviet Union have been introduced widely to the achievements of American culture. Thus in the period from 1979 through 1984, 1,784 books by American authors were published in the Soviet Union, with a total of 203 million copies being printed. No less than 51 plays by American playwrights are at 165 Soviet theaters. What is the U.S. reply to this? Basically, nothing.

The expansion and strengthening of USSR-U.S. cultural cooperation is called upon to help improve mutual understanding between our peoples. Much could be done in this respect by our literary and artistic personalities and creative unions, who should conduct enterprising, wide, and daring work to expand contacts and seek openings to American audiences and the U.S. press and television in order to bring them the truth. Let us recall what confusion was caused in the Reagan Administration by the 7-minute appearance by USSR State Television and Radio Commentator V Pozner on American television. All this is particularly relevant today, now that the United States has really whipped up an epidemic of anti-Sovietism, an epidemic which American reaction and those who did not like the "spirit of Geneva" are playing an active part in spreading.

America's screens show a constant stream of garbage like "Rocky IV" and "Rambo." American television and radio and American newspapers and magazines are full of movies, programs, and articles presenting the situation in the Soviet Union, its history, and its leaders' intentions in an utterly distorted light. More and more new books with anti-Soviet content are being published, to the tune of more than 200 titles a year. And all this for just one purpose: to deepen the Americans' sense of fear of the Soviet Union.

The force of the American mass media's influence on the "average" American is tangible. But more and more ordinary Americans are forming a clearer idea of where official Washington's adventurist policy could lead their own country, and indeed the whole world. However much bourgeois propaganda may hush up or misrepresent our initiatives, the great truth about the Soviet Union is forging an increasingly confident path. The evidence of this is the profound response aroused by the Soviet peace proposals among broad strata of the American public.

The latest explosion in Nevada and the explosions in the streets of Libyan cities sounded resonant echoes of alarm in the hearts of millions of people on all continents. This alarm is natural and well founded: The international situation has deteriorated still further through the fault of the American Administration.

But even in this difficult situation the CPSU, the Soviet State, and all the Soviet people will make every effort to ensure universal security and continue the very difficult work to put into practice the program for preventing nuclear war and preserving peace. The peoples of the world, and, one would like to believe, the American people too will be with us in this responsible, noble cause.

#### 'Radio Bridge' to North America

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 April 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article entitled "The World Is Too Small For Hatred" by Mikhail Taratuta, deputy chief of the Department of Radio Broadcasting to the United States and Canada of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting's Central Radio Broadcasting to Foreign Countries. The article describes a proposed new "radio link" between the USSR and the United States and Canada, noting that "each year Moscow radio receives around four million letters from virtually all parts of the world. Many of them come from the United States and Canada." Taratuta notes that "for decades now the distorted and, as a rule, negative picture of our country has persisted unchanged in the United States and Canada." The aim of the new radio link is to help rectify that situation by improving the USSR's image in North America. Taratuta observes that "paradoxically, Western propaganda has made our work easier in a certain sense. As a rule, listeners want to know all there is to know about our country." Taratuta cites letters from North America on various issues, including those of war and peace. He says:

"The war hysteria which has accompanied the U.S. rearmament program in recent years has forced many people to give thought. The initial applause for the course of building a strong America is giving way to doubt and alarm--what may the increasing confrontation with the USSR eventually lead to?

"From childhood people in America are told that the 'Russians' are to blame for everything. But there are few people in the United States with a thorough knowledge of the Soviet peace initiatives or who realize that the United States has set the tone throughout the history of the arms race while our country has been forced to respond to the challenge and safeguard its own security. In our broadcasts, of course, we try to rectify those omissions. For example, there is the regular "Round Table" slot, in which R. Bogdanov and S. Plekhanov, eminent scholars from the Institute of the United States of America and Canada, take part and which is chaired in its English-language version by our commentator, V. Pozner, familiar to you from television linkups. We would like to think that this and our other broadcasts reach their mark:

"Your broadcasts have inspired in me better feelings toward the USSR. I believe that the Soviet leadership sincerely wants better relations with the United States. I think that many people in our two countries also want peace," writes Alex (Betmen).

"Your broadcasts have opened my eyes. Russians and Americans have much in common. We should be great friends, not mortal enemies," is the conclusion of Roger Mundy from Maryland.

"Friends, not enemies"--if you think about it, that, surely, is the main task of our broadcasts to the United States and Canada and the main difference between Moscow Radio and Voice of America and the other Western radio stations broadcasting to the socialist countries. We use our broadcasts to try to dispel mistrust, not to sow discord between East and West. To strengthen the ties enabling us to coexist peacefully, not to undermine the rival system from within. Whether some of us like the other side or not, East and West must live on this planet together. Our choice is small: either we destroy one another, or we try to establish dialogue including by means of foreign broadcasting. And you, the readers of KOMSONOLSKAYA PRAVDA, can also give us great assistance in this.

"In conjunction with the KOMSONOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial board, we decided to organize a special radio bridge directly linking the newspaper's readers with our listeners in North America. You are already familiar with KOMSONOLSKAYA PRAVDA's rubric "Direct Line" and will know that by dialing our telephone number you can ask the editorial office's guest any question. But not that guest--or, rather, those guests--may be listeners to Moscow Radio in the United States and Canada. Our staffer records your questions and opinions on any problem that interests or concerns you. We translate those questions into English and send them over the airwaves. I am confident that our North American listeners will send replies to your questions and, in turn, will ask their own. KOMSONOLSKAYA PRAVDA will publish the results of this dialogue and we shall broadcast them.

"If you like the idea of a radio linkup and think that everyone should do something to make distrust in our relations with the North American countries give way to understanding, that the world should be a little more peaceful and that we should understand one another better, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office and Moscow radio's North America service look forward to receiving your help."

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## WESTERN EUROPE

### ALLEGED CIA-VATICAN TIES HIT, ENUMERATED

Moscow GOLOS RODINY in Russian No 6, Feb 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Yu. Bekhtin, APN, specially for GOLOS RODINY: "Knights of the Cross and Dagger ; On the CIA's Vatican Link"]

[Text] During the course of 116 years up to 1983, the U.S. has not had diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Overseas they have held that their principle of the equality of religions, they say, excludes special relations with Catholicism's center. However, the long absence of official ties has been compensated for entirely by unofficial ties. The American secret service established relations by surrounding the holy throne as far back as the early 1940's, hunting for information which flowed together at the Vatican from all corners of the world from the pope's diplomatic representatives, clergymen and missionaries. Washington's turn to "cold war" politics with the USSR attached particular importance to those church sources through which intelligence information about the USSR and its allies could be received, as well as to channels of the Vatican's influence on the Catholic congregation in socialist countries.

The Vatican has been actively appearing in the foreign political arena for a long time. And not always in a way Washington would like. Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) was an ideal head from Washington's point of view, especially as his right hand was Cardinal Francis Spellman, a fervent supporter of the United States' Vietnam escapade. Pius XII supported the increase of military power by the West, came out against socialist countries, frightened society with the specter of the "communist threat," and forbid any cooperation of Catholics with communists.

But his successor John XXIII, elected in 1958, began carrying out a more balanced foreign policy and started on the path of improving relations with socialist countries. Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) continued developing his predecessor's course. The beginning of political contact between the Soviet Union and the Vatican was proposed under him.

Using the CIA's hands, Washington did everything so that the spirit of Pius XII and not his successors would prevail in Vatican and Catholic activity. In particular, the CIA used secret agents for developing a curia (the Vatican's government) and shadowing liberal persons from the environment of its head. It financed Catholic clergy who were loyal to them and recruited some of

them to participate in its secret operations. It also collaborated with the right-wing Catholic organizations of Latin America in the struggle against clergy of progressive understanding.

At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, CIA Director Richard Helms planned this department's strategy with respect to Latin America's clergy and divided all clergy into two categories: those who support the existing orders and those who act in their people's interests. As American author Penny Theroux writes in the book "Cry of the People," the American secret service used right-wing Catholic organizations in Latin America in order to persecute prelates fighting for progressive political reforms. It trained and financed police institutions which were responsible for the torture and murder of bishops, clergy and nuns, among whom were also U.S. citizens.

Large Catholic organizations, in particular the Maltese Order, appear as channels of the CIA's influence on the Vatican. It is like a state without territory. It has its constitution, money and postage stamps. The headquarters are in Rome. The Order consists of about 10,000 persons and all the people are well-to-do.

The American magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote: "In so far as many of the order's 'knights' and those with its decoration have worked for the CIA, critics are suggesting a connection between the two organizations. But the Order's members repudiate this." One would think that some organization would some day voluntarily admit to ties with the American secret service. These knights of the cross and dagger, that is to say, the Maltese Order, as well as present CIA Chief William Casey, Mrs. Clare Luce, head of the U.S. president's intelligence service advisory board, and former deputy secretary of state, James Barclay (former director of the subversive radio stations Freedom and Free Europe), would confirm on oath the complete absence of such ties. In the magazine's words, "several columnists" call the Maltese Order a "powerful network of influential agents committed to the idea of throwing over communism." To have such a reputation and to not attract the interest of a secret department to oneself--this is not in the rules if Langley's residents.

Another important channel of the CIA's influence in the Catholic world is Opus Dei. This organization, which its abandoned members consider pro-fascist, was founded in 1928 in Spain and today its headquarters are in Rome. Opus Dei has extended its tentacles into almost one hundred of the world's countries, controls a powerful mass media network, and has strong positions in the U.S. It utilizes the American secret service quite actively. In Chili, for example, the CIA has financed Opus Dei's brain center--the so called "institute of general investigations." It is precisely through this "institute" that Americans conducted subversive activities against popularly elected President Salvador Allende, recruited bishops, and coordinated anti-government speeches with other CIA financed groups.

Recently, attacks on the holy throne, which are clearly part of Washington's influence on the movement of Latin America's progressive clergy (known by the

name "the theology of liberation"), have been intensified. The CIA's goals are to force the Vatican to properly adopt the White House's moralizings, according to which the clergy in Central America cannot come out in support of the oppressed and aggrieved, the Sandinistas or against the American administration's aggressive policy, but can oppose the Sandinistas and even must oppose socialism in Poland.

Of course, the intentions of Langley's residents with regard to the pope are not lit with purity: they use the pope's name in one of their most disgusting provocations. This department of dirty work organized the so called "Bulgarian affair" surrounding the attempt on John Paul II made by the Turkish terrorist Ali Agca in May 1981. According to the slander which CIA agents put into this terrorist's mouth through their Italian colleagues, Bulgarian citizen Sergei Antonov has been languishing in captivity ("under investigation," formally) almost 3 years now and Rome is playing a judicial game with him. Shortly after the Italian investigation, Agca was charged with slander and the eyes of the Vatican himself visited him in prison and forgave the hired assassin his sin. This visit which was reflected in huge photographs on the pages of Western presses, instilled new strengths in those who continued to believe in the success of the provocation organized by the CIA. The Vatican, having shown leniency toward the inveterate criminal, is showing, it seems, absolutely no sympathy toward the victim of Agca's plot and slander--Sergei Antonov. The holy throne is hardly unaware of the fact that, while silently supporting false charges against a person who has absolutely nothing to do with this, it participates in the CIA's attempts to carry the investigation off to the side and helps cover up the secret organizers of the attempt.

The intensification of reactionary tendencies in the Vatican's politics allows the CIA to count on the success of its misinformational actions in the future with respect to the holy throne. Gordon Tomas' book "The Year of Armageddon" came out in London not too long ago. It notes that Langley sends secret reports on international problems to the Vatican weekly through his resident in Rome. If they catch the CIA on the fact that it is stuffing its governmental departments with misinformation, then you can imagine what kind of goods it is supplying to those who, by virtue of one or another considerations, either cannot or do not want to seize it by the hand.

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## WESTERN EUROPE

### PRESENT ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATION IN SPAIN ANALYZED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 6, Feb 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Valentin Nikolayevich Gorkayev, Madrid, by telephone: "Spain: A Winter of Alarm and Struggle"]

[Text] By Valentin Nikolayevich Gorkayev (born 1934), journalist specializing in international affairs, Gostelradio [USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] correspondent in Spain. Report written especially for ZA RUBEZHOM.

The new year has begun in Spain in a complicated and contradictory situation. There has been a sharp intensification of the domestic political struggle with regard to the chief question -- whether or not Spain should be in NATO. The referendum that was promised long ago to the Socialists is approaching, but the ruling party, unlike the position that it occupied four years ago, is approaching the referendum with the purpose of achieving a vote of "yes" in preserving the country's membership in the Western military bloc. This is causing alarm on the part of the broad democratic circles, primarily the strong antiwar movement, which circles are decisively in favor of Spain's withdrawal from NATO. At the same time there has been an increase in the tension in the social and economic area, where Spain has encountered numerous difficulties which the authorities are attempting to overcome with the aid of the previous policy of "austere economy measures" at the expense of the workers.

On the stage is a long table, covered with black fabric. The places at the table are occupied by prominent Spanish social figures, deputies to the parliament, and representatives of science and culture. The entrance to the hall is free. The Spanish public is judging -- would you believe? -- the arms race. For two days this unusual tribunal, which was held in Madrid, has listened to the opinions of experts concerning the military structure and nuclear strategy of NATO, and concerning what participation in the North Atlantic bloc involves for Spain. The experts could be asked questions not

only by members of the tribunal, but also by any of the persons present in the hall.

"I consider the tribunal to be an effective means of informing the Spain people about how the arms race is threatening the peace, and about the danger to Spain that is represented by its continued participation in NATO," says Juan Maria Bandres, deputy to the parliament, who participated in the sessions of the public tribunal. "Obviously, it is no simple or easy thing to stop the arms race that is currently threatening to extend also to outer space. But we believe in intelligence and good will. All of us consider the meeting in Geneva of the leaders of the USSR and the United States to be an important step in the direction of detente. However, here in Spain we must still strive for the situation that exists so well in the Soviet Union -- the broad and objective propangandizing of peace. When I was in your country, it had a deep impression on me. Whoever I met with -- whether leaders or ordinary people -- everyone spoke about their alarm concerning the fate of the world and concerning the need to struggle to preserve it. Unfortunately, in the West the population is less informed in this sense. That is why this tribunal was held."

#### NATO in the Dock

The public tribunal has become part of the broad campaign being carried out by the Anti-NATO Committee of Spain, which unites the most varied organizations. I ask the Spanish parliamentarian what he considers to be Spain's contribution to the cause of peace.

"I am convinced," Juan Maria Bandres replies, "that the best contribution would be Spain's withdrawal from NATO. Participation in that bloc inevitably leads also to participation in the arms race and deepens the splitting of Europe into two hostile camps. Therefore the most beneficial thing that we could do for our country would be to convince people of the need to vote in the referendum for the discontinuation of our country's participation in NATO, and for a policy of neutrality, a policy that will enable Spain to maintain friendly relations with all countries and peoples."

The question of the referendum has been in the first place on Spain's political agenda since 1982, when the Spanish Socialist Workers Party [SSWP] won in the election by promising to conduct a national referendum concerning membership in NATO. The government of Felipe Gonzalez repeatedly confirmed its intention to organize the referendum although it is not yet clear specifically what kind of formulation will be given to the question that must be answered by the Spaniards. In 1985 the government on four occasions postponed parliamentary debates on problems of security and foreign policy, or the NATO debates, which is the abbreviated name given to them here. Currently it has been announced that they will begin on 4 February and the conditions for the conducting of the referendum will be given their final determination there. The deadline is also mentioned -- March. There is no longer anywhere to retreat to. In June the powers of the autonomous parliament of Andalusia run out, there will be an election, and, in accordance with the Spanish constitution, a national referendum can be conducted either three months prior

to any election or three months after. If the referendum is not conducted in March, it will be completely impossible to conduct it at all, since in the autumn (in October) the next parliamentary election will be held. This circumstance and the increasingly stronger maneuverings of the pro-NATO circles concerning the referendum are causing serious alarm among Spanish peace fighters, and causing them to carry out increasingly aggressive actions.

Two weeks before the New Year, for example, Spanish newspapers began printing the headline "Hunger Strike for Peace." That unusual protest by almost a thousand activists in the anti-NATO movement was carried out simultaneously in 32 cities throughout the country. We conducted a television interview with hunger strike participants in Madrid on its last day, the seventh. Although they looked noticeably thinner and weaker, they nevertheless were experiencing a tremendous psychological upsurge.

"From the Madrid organizations and political and social figures alone, we received more than 400 telegrams of solidarity," Manuel Gori, activist in the Anti-NATO Committee of Spain, said excitedly. "We are glad that our act of protest against the constant delaying of the conducting of the reference had such a broad response."

The hunger strike for peace ended with mass demonstrations in many Spanish cities, which were held on New Year's Eve. In Madrid, on the streets adjacent to the parliament building, demonstrators formed a "human chain" five kilometers long. In February, when the NATO debates will take place, the antiwar movement is planning to carry out the largest peace demonstration in the history of Spain -- a peace march to Madrid from all the cities in the country.

#### "A Factor That Contradicts Detente"

The domestic policy struggle in Spain concerning the referendum is becoming more acute primarily as a result of the change in the position of the SSWP leadership with respect to NATO. "The international tension is greatly complicating the establishment and development of democracy. The medium-sized countries especially must strive to encourage a policy of detente, in order to preserve their economic, political, cultural, and other interests. Entry into NATO is a factor that contradicts detente." This is a quotation from an anti-NATO pamphlet that was published by the SSWP on the eve of the 1982 parliamentary election, in which the SSWP won the absolute majority of the places in the Cortes. That is how the Spanish Socialists thought at that time. At the present time the government of Felipe Gonzalez is elevating NATO as a "peace factor" in Europe. So far, there has been no convincing explanation of what caused this 180-degree flipflop. References to the "interests of the state," to which the ministers currently resort, including the chairmen of the government himself, which were made in numerous interviews given to Spanish and foreign press agencies, also fail to bring clarity into this question.

But as a result there currently has been a change also in the meaning of the promised referendum. Previously the Socialists considered it to be an

instrument for withdrawing the country from NATO. Currently the referendum either should not be carried out -- which is the situation that the rightist forces within the country and the country's Atlantic allies, primarily the United States and West Germany, are attempting to achieve from Madrid (NATO General Secretary Carrington, who made his first visit to Spain in January, acted in this direction), or the government must, as people say here, "win" the referendum, that is, must guarantee a vote of "yes" for the preservation of membership in NATO. Refusing to hold the referendum is politically dangerous. In that instance there is too great a risk of losing the confidence of almost half the Spanish voters who, in one judges from recent public opinion polls, are opposed to NATO. And although for several months there has already been a loud propaganda campaign to cancel the referendum, 66 percent of the Spaniards feel that it must be held. Just one thing remains for the government -- to "win." But how does one change the population's mind? In the SSWP itself the anti-NATO feelings are strong. Official statements against participation in NATO have been made by the Union of Socialist Youth and the General Union of Workers, the socialist trade-union association that has 1,375,000 members. True, the SSWP leadership carried out a resolution requiring all the party members to support the government's position, and in particular it was forbidden to make any anti-NATO statements. But whether all the Socialists, and especially their supporters, will vote in the referendum for NATO is something which, of course, no one can guarantee.

At the present time Spain is putting its reliance on the "French version," although Spain's presence in NATO under conditions of nonparticipation in its military organization was called "unrealistic" by the Socialists themselves in 1982. The government recently increased its efforts to assure shifting from a complete standstill the question of American military bases in Spain. Four large-scale U.S. military bases and other military objectives at which a total of almost 15,000 Americans are stationed as military and support personnel were created on the territory of Spain during the Franco regime and since then have been causing general dissatisfaction throughout the country. The fact that Madrid is persistently striving to reduce the number of American troops in Spain conforms to the nation's demand. At the same time, as has been emphasized by many local observers, this can be "the shock absorber that is supposed to mollify the sharp change in the government's position with respect to NATO and to bring public opinion to its side."

All this has extremely aggravated the domestic policy struggle in the country with respect to the chief question of foreign policy. The government has shown clearly that it intends to "win" the referendum. But what will happen if the majority of the Spaniards nevertheless speak out against their country's participation in the North Atlantic bloc? Clarity was introduced by F. Gonzalez himself. "I shall be consistent in the question of the results of the national voting," the chairman of the Spanish government declared at a press conference after a meeting with NATO General Secretary Carrington. "If the majority of the nation votes 'no' -- which is a hypothesis that I do not share -- then it is completely obvious that Spain will not remain in the bloc."

## The Reverse Side of the Policy of Changes

Will this responsible promise be executed? We shall not have to wait long to find out. Meanwhile, doubts are becoming stronger concerning the economic policy of the government of Socialists. A well-known journalist on Spanish television and I are looking at frames from an October 1982 newsreel. Happy faces, tears of joy, a holiday atmosphere -- ten million Spaniards, the absolute majority of the voters, voted at that time for a policy of changes -- the campaign slogan of the SSWP.

"These frames really contrast with what one could see on the television screen as early as a half-year after the Socialists came to power, and especially last year," I tell my associate. "I have in mind the long and stubborn struggle waged by the Sagunto metallurgists against the closing of the enterprise, the real that was waged against the police by the shipbuilders who had lost their jobs, and very large worker demonstrations."

"Yes, there is a large contrast," he replies. "A definite part of the population, of course, is disappointed. But what can be done? The country's economy was in such a neglected state that it was like a patient in urgent need of surgical intervention. It was decided to take the path of getting rid of any sore spots. Both Sagunto and many shipyards were enterprises that were operating at a loss. The Socialists in our country came to power during the period of an economic crisis. But you know very well that during this period of more than three years it has nevertheless been possible to correct the situation in the economy. Moreover, the shipbuilders were not simply fired, but have continued to receive 80 percent of their earnings."

Yes, actually all that is so. The Socialist government was able to reduce inflation from 14 percent in 1982 to 8 percent, according to preliminary data, in 1985. There has been a considerable increase in the country's exports. Of course, that has had a positive effect upon the economy. But that proved to be insufficient to stop the growth of unemployment. During the 1100 days that the Socialists have been in power, the number of unemployed increased by at least a half million and currently is approaching the 3 million mark. And yet the SSWP promised to create 800,000 jobs.

In practice, the government's economic policy has been reduced to the course of "austere economy measures," which has two goals: the entrepreneurs must receive as much profit as possible (so that, one must assume, they will invest more money in the urgently needed economic modernization of the country), and the government at the same time must bear as few expenses as possible. Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez has repeatedly emphasized that that policy has been planned for the long-term period and its effect will not begin to be felt until after several years. However, it has already led to a serious aggravation of the social situation in the country. The workers were forced to resort to a general strike. It occurred on 20 June 1985 and encompassed more than 4 million Spaniards.

Shipbuilding is one of the branches which, to use the expression of my associate in Spanish television, "urgently need surgical intervention." For the residents of El Ferrol, a small city in the north of Spain, the closing of

Astano, one of the country's largest shipyards, meant depriving them of the main thing to which they had been accustomed since childhood and that had provided them with work and food.

We arrived in El Ferrol when the bitter resistance of the shipbuilders had been practically broken, and the city itself, which extends like a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast, looked like a ship that was headed for the scrap heap: sailors were lolling around its unkempt deck, with no idea of what to do to keep busy. Jose Riobo, secretary of the local department of the Trade Union Confederation of Worker Commissions (the country's largest trade union association, with approximately 2 million members), has eyes that are red from fatigue and a cracked voice: for several months the shipbuilders conducted demonstrations and protest meetings every day.

"Astano is the heart of El Ferrol, and that heart has stopped beating," Jose says. "Out of 5600 workers, approximately 4000 were fired. We are not building anything any longer. But you will be going to the shipyard and you will see for yourself."

At the shipyard things actually were unusually quiet and deserted. There was only one ship in the dry dock. It was explained to us that it had arrived there for painting.

"Of course, Astano's troubles did not just begin today," Jose said. "But one could also have thought a bit about creating new jobs. Yes, we were offered unemployment compensation for three years and were promised assistance in finding new jobs. However, no one believes that work will show up, because there are no other enterprises in El Ferrol. Nor has anything been heard about any new ones being built here. And that means that people do not have any future."

The laid-off shipbuilders in El Ferrol call themselves "parados de lujo" -- "deluxe unemployed." They are not included in the official statistics. But the "real" unemployed in Spain constitute more than 21 percent of the able-bodied population. And only one-third of them receive unemployment compensation.

Another person who does not receive unemployment compensation is Jose Ramon Diaz de Castro, one of those young Spaniards who constitute 46 percent of the army of 3 million unemployed. He is 27 years old, a draftsman, and for the past seven years have been unable to find a job. There are six people in the family, and the only one with a job is his older brother. In addition, his father gets a small pension. Seven years ago Jose met his fiancée. They cannot get married yet: there is no place where they can live and no money to live on.

Another person who cannot allow himself to get married is his older brother (who is already 29), because then the family would lose its sole breadwinner. The most fearful thing, according to Jose, is the lack of any future prospect. Unemployment is constantly growing, but technology is not standing still, and in order to find a job it is necessary to raise one's level of proficiency.

"But how can I do that if I'm not working?", he asks. "I can't enroll in any courses. That costs a lot of money that I don't have. I feel that I have fallen hopelessly behind the younger guys, even though they too have been unable to find a job."

#### Marinaleda Fights for the Land

"If you want to be a revolutionary, you must shoot your own egoism." That slogan jumps out from among the other slogans in the cultural center of the Andalusian settlement of Marinaleda. Benches set out on the cement floor, a small stage, and posters on the walls -- that is the entire setting. It is here that the residents of Marinaleda decide at a general meeting all the commune's affairs. "The people are the best 'alcalde'", says Juan Manuel Sánchez Gordillo, the elected head, or alcalde, of Marinaleda, where 65 percent of the residents are out of work.

The name of this settlement -- of which there are a large number of rural Spain -- swept over the country for the first time in 1980, when approximately a thousand residents of Marinaleda, headed by their alcalde, announced a hunger strike, demanding the payment of unemployment compensation. The participants in that hunger strike also included children. This is how Juan Gordillo describes a general meeting on one of the last days of the hunger strike in his book "Andalusians, Arise!": "How much can the people endure! I look into the faces of Frasquita, Juan, Aurora, Antonio Reyes, Luiz, Isabel, and many, many others. The doctor has persistently urged them to stop the hunger strike. Rosario, who is 40 years old, has difficulty standing on her feet, but she smiles as though nothing has happened. I look at them and I am convinced that, come what may, they will continue the hunger strike."

As a sign of solidarity with the farmhands of Marinaleda, the hunger strike then rolled over all of Spain. Finally the authorities were forced to issue, on an emergency basis, unemployment compensation to the peasants. However, the chief problem remained unresolved. Therefore the name of the small Andalusian settlement recently began to flash across the Spanish newspapers in connection with a "seizure of the land."

Alongside the entrance to Marinaleda is a formation of the civil guard.

"Where's the alcalde?", we ask an elderly peasant who is walking by.

"In the field with the soldiers," he says, and volunteers to take us there.

The sun had already set beyond the horizon when we arrived at the "scene of the event." It was raw and windy there. In order to get warm, people had lit campfires near the road. They had spent the whole day on the fields belonging to a major latifundia owner. They had been digging around the olive trees. It was time to return, and the peasants, with hoes and Andalusian flags, walking in a column that stretched out for half a kilometer, were on their way to the distant settlement so that the next day, with the first rays of the sun, they could again come back to the fields. This is heavy work on someone

else's land, work that no one will pay them for. What do they think they will achieve by this?

"The system of land ownership is the chief problem in Andalusia," Juan Gordillo explains. "The latifundia owners -- and they constitute only two percent of the population -- concentrate in their hands half the arable land. Much of the land has been neglected, like this plantation. Therefore we have been forced to resort to the occupying of the land, in order again and again to turn the attention of public opinion to the anachronism of a system which dooms hundreds of thousands of Andalusians to starvation."

Literally a few hours after left Marinaleda the next day, the members of the civil guard chased the peasants off the plantation. But nevertheless alcalde Juan Gordillo had been right when he told us as we left that a just struggle is never in vain: recently the beginning of the conducting of an agrarian reform in Andalusia had been announced. Of course, it is difficult to give the name of reform to the temporary expropriation of the first 12 latifundias, which in essence had been neglected by their owners because of their low productivity, especially since, after several years, the owners have the right to reclaim their land by paying for what had been done to improve it. Nevertheless this is some kind of movement in the frozen system of land ownership in Andalusia.

#### A New Year's "Present" from the Common Market

The signing of the agreement concerning Spain's entry into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD -- Common Market] is considered by the SSWP to be a very major event of last year and its own achievement, which will guarantee to the country a rise in the economy and the prosperity of the population. But already the first measure that was linked with Spain's official entry into the OECD, namely the introduction, effective 1 January, of the added value tax that is in effect in the Common Market countries (which tax is the basic source of proceeds paid into the OECD treasury), has dealt a perceptible blow to the Spaniards' standard of living. The prices of most of the commodities have risen. The prices of good products have risen by 7-12 percent, and the prices of services by 20 percent.

This does not mark the end of the unpleasant surprises. Spanish newspapers have been writing that sharp rise in prices as a result of the new tax will lead to a further reduction in the number of workers employed at the small-scale enterprises that constitute the overwhelming majority in Spain. The relationship is the most direct -- under conditions of a reduction in the demand, the owners of those enterprises will have to limit even more the expenses for manpower if they want to make a profit. Consequently, a new increase in unemployment is inevitable. One's attention is also directed to the fact that the OECD countries have obtained the opportunity to expand their export to Spain. And we are speaking not only of commodities or services. One can already feel the extremely great influence of foreign capital in the Spanish food and chemical industry and in electronics. That influence will undoubtedly grow in these and other vitally important branches, and that will



inevitably lead to an intensification of the opportunities for exerting a political influence upon Spain from without.

At the same time, Spain arrived in the OECD not with its hand outstretched. It occupies the fifth place in Europe for steel production, fourth place for cement production, first for olive oil, and second (after Italy) for vegetables. Spain produces more than a million passenger cars (half of which are exported), and builds ships and aircraft. But with regard to labor productivity its positions are weak: it is in twentieth place among the developed capitalist countries. Agriculture is especially lagging behind. In the Galicia region of Spain alone, there are more peasants than in all of Great Britain, but the effectiveness of their labor is immeasurably lower. Adaptation to the OECD conditions will require reorganization, which during the first years will lead to the ruination of small-scale industrial and agricultural production entities. In the north of Spain, the area of concentration of the production of meat and milk by the efforts of small-sized farms (a hectare of land, three or four cows), ruination is inevitable for 30 percentage of these "family farms." As a whole, according to economists' predictions, one can expect a reduction of 9 percent in the gross national product.

Madrid gives assurances that all these problems are influenced by the low competitive capability of the Spanish economy as a whole, and therefore free competition with the developed Common Market countries is a stern method, but the only available method, for sharply increasing the effectiveness of national production. This purely capitalistic logic completely precludes the interests of people of labor, and heaps onto them all the burden of "modernization." In addition, the goal may prove to be unachievable. For example, the south of Italy, which is one of the countries that founded the Common Market, continues to be a poorly developed region. As was noted by the Madrid newspaper CINCO DIAS, at the present time, when we observe the dispersion of the "euphoria concerning Spain's entry into the Common Market, no one can say with conviction that that decisive step was taken in the right direction."

#### Pre-election Operation Roca

Meanwhile the next parliamentary election is approaching. The Socialists' mandate expires in October, but people are stubbornly saying that the election will be held earlier, so that the new government will have time to prepare a draft of the 1987 budget. However that may be, the pre-election adjustment of fire has been carried out since last year and currently is becoming more intensified with every passing day. Properly speaking, both the entry into the Common Market and the March NATO referendum are being viewed primarily through the prism of the election.

Despite the fact that a considerable number of the voters have unconditionally been disappointed by the SSWP policy, all the polls that have been taken up to now indicate that the Socialists have sufficient chances for winning again. According to those same polls, the rightist People's Alliance Party, headed by former Franco minister Manuel Frago y Iribarne, reached its "ceiling" when it

won, during the past election, 106 deputy seats in a bloc with the People's Democratic Party. At the present time it might lose some of the voters. Thus a stubborn fight for the Spaniards' votes has begun. One after another, centrist parties have begun to arise in Spain -- the Democratic Reform Party, the Liberal Party -- and there has been a reactivation of the Democratic and Social Center, which was formed after the collapse of the Union of the Democratic Center, which ruled from 1977 through 1982 and brought Spain into NATO.

Planning to fill the vacuum in the political center, bourgeois politicians are putting their basic hope on the Democratic Reform Party as the nucleus of a broad centrist alliance. The person who acted as the initiator was Miguel Roca, a deputy to the Spanish parliament from the Catalanian conservative party, Convergence and the Union of Catalonia. Operation Roca, which is the name that has been given here to that act, lies in assuring that the coalition with the Democratic and Social center, which is headed by former prime minister Adolfo Suarez, will attempt to attract as many votes as possible away from the Socialists and deprive the Socialists of a parliamentary majority. But for the time being Suarez has not agreed to the unification, and Roca's chances are not too good.

At the same time, the defeat of the Portuguese Socialists last year in the parliamentary election could not fail to "cheer up" the Spanish bourgeois centrist parties. Obviously, one cannot transfer to Spain the results of voting in other countries, but there is a common feature which has been mentioned by former Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernando Moran. In his commentary in the newspaper PAIS he writes, in particular, that the defeat of the Portuguese Socialists was "the consequence of a policy and an activity which are too guilty of pragmatism and the inability to find a way out of the crisis without infringing upon the interests of the population. This is, in general, a disease of some of the Western European leftists, who, because of their adherence to the traditional economic platform, are incapable of carrying out a policy of changes, so that it is not a shy copy of the rightists' policy. But if, from leftist positions, there is carried out what is in essence a rightist policy, the logical result is that people will vote for the rightist center," Moran concludes.

Numerous and complicated problems confront Spain today. The Spaniards have entrusted the Socialist Party with the task of resolving them, as has been attested to by the profound changes in the country during the ten years since the collapse of the Franco regime. And the criticism to which the SSWP policy is being subjected, primarily in the question about NATO and in the economic area, one must note, is of a sharp, but optimistic, constructive nature. All things considered, the Socialists will continue to stand at the helm. The Spanish nation, linking his hopes with the deepening of democracy in the political, social, and economic areas, is in favor of following that path, is in favor of living under conditions of international peace, the reinforcement of which can be promoted by Spain. "We are convinced," 100 prominent Spanish public figures pointed out in a recent statement, "that honest negotiations, effective measures to reinforce the detente and to reduce armament, and the nonexpansion of military blocs represent the path that will help to preserve the peace."

## WESTERN EUROPE

### CANDIDATES IN PORTUGUESE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION VIEWED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Volkov, Lisbon, 24 Jan: "Presidential Marathon"]

[Text] For the third time in the last four months Portugal has found itself on the threshold of elections. In October and December of last year elections were held here in parliament and in the local organs of power, and on the 26th of January the Portuguese must elect the president of their country.

Various political parties, coalitions and groups have nominated four candidates.

Francisco Salgado Zenha, a formerly prominent figure in the socialist party, is the candidate who is gaining the support of broad democratic circles. His candidacy was supported by the current president A. Ramalho Eanes and the new political power of the country--the party of democratic renewal, a certain segment of socialists who have disassociated themselves from the present leadership of the Socialist Party, the Portuguese democratic movement, the "green" party, independent democrats, and a significant number of activists belonging to the Universal Confederation of Portuguese workers--the National Intersyndical. In order to achieve unity, cohesion, agreement and co-operation between the patriotic circles of the country the Portuguese Communist Party withdrew its candidacy and called upon communists to vote for Francisco Salgado Zenha.

"The outcome of the struggle for the presidential post," declared General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal at the national conference of Portuguese Communists which took place at the beginning of January, "will play an important role in the further social-political evolution of Portugal. The victory of the candidate of the progressive forces," noted the leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, "will signify the strengthening and development of the democratic structure. If reaction gains the upper hand, then it will assume a powerful offensive against the achievements of the Portuguese people, which were attained after the victory of the April revolution of 1974."

With the present alignment of political forces, it was stated in the unanimously accepted political resolution of the national conference of the Portuguese Communist Party, that it is imperative to unite the voices of all democratic forces, including the workers, whose interests are represented by the Communist Party.

The results of the elections in parliament and in the local organs of power, which took place at the end of last year, did not bring the victory desired to the right-wing forces.

As the weekly JORNAL notes, a leit motif of the right-wing's pre-election campaigns became their striving to attempt to take revenge, to revive the so-called "democratic alliance"--the reactionary group which was in power from 1979 to 1983. For the attainment of this goal the leadership of the Social Democrat Party and the former leader of the Socialist Democratic Center Party, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, who proposed his candidacy for the post of president, concluded a peculiar pact: in the event of the election of the latter to the post of head of the government, he would, in exchange for the votes of the supporters of the Social Democrat Party, leave the present government of the minority under the leadership of prime minister Anibal Cavaco Silva at the helm of governing the country.

One more candidate for the post of head of the government is the former prime minister Mario Soares. In spite of the shattering defeat which the socialists endured in the recent parliamentary elections due to the unpopular policy of the "cruel economy" of the government headed by him over the last two years, Soares is conducting an active battle for the votes of the electors. Frightening the philistine with the threat of an ascent to power by openly right-wing forces or "leftist radicals," he is announcing that he intends to become "the president of all Portuguese," the "guarantor of stability." However, as the French newspaper LA CROIX notes, during his period in power, Soares made serious concessions to the right: he achieved an actual curtailment of the governmental sector, he continued the attack against the achievement of agrarian reform, and unconditionally supported the policy of NATO.

Among the candidates for the post of president is Maria Lurdes di Pintasilgo, who in 1979 became the first woman in the history of Portugal to occupy the post of prime minister. She counts on the support of a certain part of the liberal intelligentsia, left-wing radical circles and the Catholic church.

For the present political situation, when clouds are gathering over the Portuguese democracy, the strong fighting spirit of the defenders of the April revolution is characteristic both in the ranks of the Communist Party and other democratic organizations, and among the worker's movement. Calling upon the workers and all democrats to give their votes to Salgado Zenha, the communists are warning about the real danger from the right. The last word in this tense battle, writes the Portuguese communists' newspaper AVANTE!, belongs to the Portuguese people.

## WESTERN EUROPE

### SOVIET PROPOSAL WILL PULL CYPRUS PROBLEM OUT OF 'BLIND ALLEY'

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by S. Tarasov under the "International Notes" rubric: "Road To A Settlement"]

[Text] The proposals brought forward the other day by the Soviet Union on the principles of the Cyprus regularization and the ways to achieve it evoked a broad and positive response from the international community. In the circles of the United Nations Organization it is considered that the Soviet initiatives, in the event of their realization, will open a real path towards the liquidation of the serious threat which has been hanging over Cyprus, the preservation of Cyprus as an independent, territorily integral government, and the elimination of a serious breeding ground of tension in the Mediterranean.

Such intent attention towards the USSR's initiative is no accident. The acuteness of the Cyprus problem has long evoked the concern of the international community, which perceives in it not only a dangerous breeding ground of tension, but also a reflection of the policy of those imperialistic circles, a policy which is threatening the existence of Cyprus as a sovereign, territorily integral, united and independent government. Practically from the moment of the existence of the Republic of Cyprus the USA and its North Atlantic allies have not given up in their attempts to turn the island into their own strategic base in the Mediterranean; they acted here according to the colonial principle of "divide and conquer," shamelessly setting the Greek and Turkish communities against each other. It is precisely they who bear the whole responsibility for the situation which was created in Cyprus. As a result of their insidious plots and intrigues bloody clashes between the Greeks and the Turkish Cypriots have repeatedly taken place on the island, and in the summer of 1974 an anti-government putsch was organized, the tragic consequences of which the Cypriots have still not overcome.

"There are no doubts that the island's dissidence," wrote the English journal NEW STATESMAN, "was always a preferable variant in the eyes of militarily inclined Western political figures."

Pursuing imperial ambitions, Washington and its assistants are trying to turn Cyprus into a large-scale nuclear-rocket base which, undoubtedly, will

present a danger for the island's 650,000 people. In order to realize these criminal intentions the Pentagon's contractors have undertaken in the northern part of Cyprus the construction of the largest Air Force base in the region, and have begun or plan to begin another series of military and spy units. At the same time in the south of the island, England is still holding military bases from the period of its colonial empire. Essentially, the USA and other countries of NATO intend to turn Cyprus into their "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Mediterranean, into the trans-shipping point for the interventionist forces of "rapid deployment."

The proclamation of the so-called "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" was the direct consequence of the interference by the forces of imperialism into the internal affairs of Cyprus. This separatist action was repeatedly condemned by the United Nations Organization.

In the light of the facts introduced, the Soviet proposals, originating from the USSR's position based on principle on Cyprus's regularization, should be viable, responding to the interests of both the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots, peace and universal safety, and should reveal the real path towards a just solution of the Cyprus problem. The indispensable condition of the regularization, which is noted in the proposals, is the demilitarization of the island's territory, a withdrawal of all foreign troops and the creation of a system of effective international guarantees of independence, sovereignty, unity and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. The cardinal solution of all aspects of the Cyprus problem can be ensured by a convocation within the limits of the United Nations Organization of a representative international conference on Cyprus.

The USSR's new initiative can enable the elimination of the breeding ground of tension in the region, and is mentioned in the statement of the government of the Republic of Cyprus, which perceived the Soviet proposals with satisfaction, having characterized them as constructive and positive.

The Soviet method of approach, states the Nicosian newspaper NEA leads the Cyprus problem out of the blind alley into which the policy of the United States is trying to drive it.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### CPCZ CC SECRETARY ON ECONOMIC POLICY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Milos Yakes, member of Presidium; secretary, CPCZ CC: "The Strategy of Growth"]

[Text] Prague. March. This is a particularly notable year for the people of Czechoslovakia. The 17th Congress of the CPCZ will be an event of paramount importance; there will be elections to republic national committees and legislative bodies. This is the 65th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, under whose leadership the working people carried out a victorious socialist revolution and built a new society.

The 17th Congress of the CPCZ will be convened shortly after the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Documents and materials of the forum of Soviet communists, the conceptualization of their experience, and the comprehensiveness and concreteness of the tasks and perspectives also give our party and our people the impetus to address new, considerably more complex and difficult problems in the construction of developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia. In preparing for our 17th Congress, we strive to make the best possible use of the vast wealth of new knowledge that is generated today by the consistent struggle of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people for the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

The economic strategy of the CSR in the present stage, which will be discussed at the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, is based on the results and experience acquired in the course of the implementation of the general line of construction of developed socialist society. In the last 15 years that have elapsed since overcoming the crisis, our country's economic potential has grown considerably and the living standard of the people has risen under the leadership of the CPCZ as a result of the selfless labor of our people and all-round cooperation with other socialist countries and especially with the Soviet Union. Gross national income has increased 80 percent and social labor productivity has increased by 70 percent. Industrial production has increased by 95 percent; agricultural production--by 34 percent.

The people's well-being has improved on the basis of economic growth. Personal consumption in the last 1.5 decades has increased by 45 percent; social consumption--by 106 percent. The population's real incomes have increased by more than one-half. Over one-third of all families have received

new apartments. Social guarantees to the population have been strengthened still more, the educational and skill levels of the working people are higher; their cultural level is now higher in every respect.

The fulfillment of the targets of the 7th Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan at a time when, notwithstanding a dramatic increase in the complexity of external economic conditions we succeeded in preserving the dynamic development of the national economy, also played its part in the attainment of these results. In 5 years, the volume of national income increased by 11 percent, social labor productivity--9 percent, industrial output--15 percent, and agricultural output--10 percent.

Under the 7th Five-Year Plan, our economy continued to participate more actively in the international division of labor, particularly within the framework of socialist economic integration. The share of Czechoslovak foreign trade with other CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries in total CSR trade reached 74 percent compared with 65 percent in 1980; the share of the USSR in CSR trade was 46 percent. In the area of foreign economic relations with nonsocialist countries, exports developed at a faster pace than imports, which led to the substantial reduction of hard-currency indebtedness. We have achieved an active balance in this area.

The positive results, however, cannot conceal a number of shortcomings that particularly make themselves known in the slow adaptation of the national economy to new, more complex conditions stemming from its conversion to the path of intensive development. Advances in science and technology are introduced into practice, products are renovated, and product quality is improved at a slow pace. As a result of all this, the effectiveness of foreign trade is low. There are also considerable difficulties in capital construction; the effectiveness of fixed capital is diminished. The principal reason here lies in managerial activity and the methods that have survived from the time when the economic development was extensive.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these problems, the basic directions of party economic policy articulated by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ were on the whole realized and in some cases overfulfilled. We succeeded in achieving the principal task posed by the congress: the task of maintaining and improving the people's living standard and strengthening their social confidence.

The principal goals and paths of our further progress in the present stage are expressed in the draft of the Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSR in 1986-1990 and the Period up to the Year 2000. This document, together with the draft of changes in the Regulations of the CPCZ, was published for discussion. It has been unanimously supported by party organizations as well as by district and regional party organizations; it enjoys the full support of our citizens. The document is based on the existing level of our society's development. It reflects the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Member Nations, the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Nations up to the Year 2000, the Program of Long-Term Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSR and the USSR, the implementation of which is of strategic importance to us, and the program of cooperation with other fraternal countries. Our



next five-year plan targets are based on coordination within the framework of national economic plans for 1986-1990. All this increases the possibility and certainty of stable development.

The chief aim of our socioeconomic strategy is to raise the people's living standard further on the basis of the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of society. Before the year 2000, personal consumption in the CSR will increase by one-half, with particular emphasis being placed on its qualitative aspect. The potential will be created for the further all-round flowering of the human personality and for strengthening the socialist way of life. Related measures include: the improvement of housing conditions, including the construction of 1.5 million new apartments; improvement of the service sphere; an abundance of high-quality consumer goods; improvement of the work of transport; the more expedient use of free time; the development of the system of education; concern for the health of the working people and for the improvement of the environment.

The Basic Directions pose the task of increasing national income by at least 3.5 percent a year under this five-year plan and in the nineties--by 4 percent, which exceeds the 1985 level by more than two-thirds. Ninety-five percent of the entire increase must be the result of higher labor productivity.

We see the basic path to the attainment of such growth of national income to be the continued, consistent implementation of the strategic line of our economic policy--to increase the effectiveness of the national economy by intensifying the national economy. As Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized, this means attaining higher growth of national income with the same resources.

Under our conditions, this process requires that the scientific-technological revolution be carried out and that it be combined with the advantages of socialism. In other words, the point at issue is the rapid development of science and technology within the framework of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Nations up to the Year 2000, the modernization of our entire production base, and the development and introduction of new technologies and production facilities. The leading role here is assigned to machine building. While this branch has rich traditions and a good production and technological base in Czechoslovakia, its product mix is too broad and must be restricted. This problem can be resolved only on the basis of broader specialization and cooperation, especially in the USSR. Only in this way will we be able to produce high-quality machine tools and equipment corresponding to international parameters, increase series production and thereby make production more effective. We consider the effort to improve quality in the broadest sense of the word to be an important political objective.

The lowering of the materials- and energy-output ratio is extremely important for the CSR--a country that is poor in raw materials and energy sources. This is one of the main sources of growth of national income. Before the year 2000, it is our wish to reduce the share of energy consumption in the creation of national income by one-third; in the production of ferrous metals--by 40-50 percent. Here, too, we must also make a number of structural

changes. We place particular emphasis on the development of precision machine building and electronics, on the development of new materials, on the use of domestic and secondary raw materials, on quality chemistry, and on increasing the production of high-quality steel while lowering the overall volume of metallurgical output. We will make dramatic change in the fuel-energy balance in favor of nuclear power and natural gas in order to reduce the share of solid fuel. This task has great political significance because its realization simultaneously helps to eliminate serious ecological problems. The appropriate conditions for this are created by the increase in gas deliveries based on our participation in the construction of the "Progress" Pipeline and the gas construction complex in the USSR. We also wish to restore the high quality label to Czechoslovakian consumer goods, including footwear, clothing and other goods, and to be more oriented toward goods produced by skilled labor.

We attach much importance to the further development of agricultural production, a stabilizing factor in our economy, which has done much to increase the country's ability to satisfy its own food needs. In connection with the demand to intensify agriculture and animal husbandry, we will industrialize agriculture still further.

Capital construction is one of the principal instruments for developing the national economy and especially for accelerating scientific-technical development. We plan to invest considerable resources--28 percent of our gross national income--in capital construction under the 8th Five-Year Plan. We shall see to it that our capital investments are coordinated as consistently as possible with other CEMA countries. We are concentrating primarily on the modernization and reconstruction of the existing production base, on programs and construction projects offering an early return on investment.

The intensification process requires improvement in the management and planning of the entire economic mechanism. Here, too, we cannot follow the path of using various market concepts, of relaxing socialist public ownership and the leading role of the CPCZ in the economy.

The party considers the strengthening and development of Leninist principles of management, democratic centralism, and the strengthening of centralized management coupled with the increased economic independence and responsibility of enterprises on a cost accounting basis to be the basis for improving management. We will improve the quality of norms, use economic levers, prices and credit more widely and, based on the experience of the USSR, strengthen the functions of economic contracts as an important criterion for evaluating enterprise performance. We attach much importance to improving the material incentive of enterprises and work collectives to produce better results, to overcome wage-leveling and to consistently follow the principle "to each according to his merits." We are using the brigade form of labor organization and wages more and more widely to this end.

As our experience shows, the transition to intensification is a complex and difficult process. Managerial cadres, the great majority of which grew up and worked many years under the conditions of extensive economic growth, are the

basic prerequisite to its successful realization. Even today, many of them find it difficult to overcome old habits. Our party therefore gives top priority to the reorganization of economic thinking, to screening and training cadres, especially young cadres. At the same time, in accordance with the demand to make practical use of scientific and technological advances, we attach much importance to upgrading workers' skill levels.

We consider the development of the activism and initiative of the working people to be the main guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the party's socioeconomic program. The broad scope of the movement for a worthy greeting of the 17th CPCZ Congress and in honor of the 65th anniversary of the founding of our party attests to the people's support for its policy.

The socioeconomic program of the CPCZ can be implemented only under peaceful conditions. The Czechoslovakian people realize that our jobs are the main front of the struggle for peace, that lasting peace depends on future successes in construction and in strengthening the defensive capability of socialism. We see therein the most effective support for large-scale peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

It can be said with certainty already today that the program for the development of our society, which will be adopted by the congress and that we will carry with us to the elections to national committees and legislative bodies will become the cause of all our people. Our country will enter the second half of the eighties as a united, politically strong and economically mature state that is a reliable link in the socialist community. The immutable strategy of our policy--inviolable friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. Therein lies the source of our optimism and certainty that the difficult tasks that will be set by the 17th Congress will be carried out.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### 'INDEPENDENCE' OF CARIBBEAN CONTACT NEWSPAPER PRAISED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Yevgeniy Bay: "The CARIBBEAN CONTACT"]

[Text] On the map of the world the Caribbean Islands make a distinctive bow, one end of which almost rests against the eastern coast of Mexico and the other bordering the shores of Venezuela. The political structure, culture and traditions of these countries, which speak English, French, Spanish and Dutch are different. Even their publications do not resemble each other: the large, respectable newspapers issued in Trinidad and Tobago even in their outward appearance have nothing in common with the humble publications distributed on St. Vincent or Grenada.

There is, however, one newspaper in the region which tries to reflect in its pages the whole gamut of political shades of the Caribbean. We are talking about the weekly CARIBBEAN CONTACT, published on Barbados with a circulation of 150,000-200,000 and distributed in all the Caribbean states. Being an independent publication, it most fully reflects the opinion of the democratic forces of the region, speaking out in favor of the sovereignty of their countries and against the growing interference of the U.S.

Let's open one of the latest issues of the CARIBBEAN CONTACT. The central section of the paper is devoted to an important event in the life of the countries of the Caribbean basin--the downfall of the dictator Duvalier in Haiti. The report of the correspondent, filed from Port-au Prince, gives a full picture of what is going on in Haiti. Hailing the downfall of the hated regime, the author emphasizes that in the socio-economic sphere little has changed on the island.

"A change of government has taken place but there is no change in the wretched position of the Haitians", the newspaper cites the well-known anthropologist of Haiti, Claude Charles.

The newspaper does not distract attention from another recent event: the visit of the U.S. president to Grenada. On its first page it publishes two photographs disclosing the feelings of the broad strata of Grenadians to the trip of the American leader. One of them shows a sign, written with coal on the wall of a house in St. George: "No, Mr. Reagan, we will not return to slavery". The other shows one of the poorest regions of the Grenadian capital. Ruined walls, turned into rubbish heaps, hanging tangles of wire--such are the consequences of the punitive actions of the police, who inflicted real destruction in the homes of the Grenadians protesting the visit of the American guest.

The CARIBBEAN CONTACT decisively speaks out against the growing American militarization of the region, against pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the dominance of American monopolies in the Caribbean basin.

Trying to broaden and strengthen its influence, the CARIBBEAN CONTACT, issued in English, started to print a part of its published material in French (for Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana) and in Spanish (for Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic).

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### PEACE, SECURITY, DISARMAMENT URGED FOR ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

PM241422 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 15, 11 Apr 86 pp 3-4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Medvedko: "Nuclear-free World and Asian Security"]

[Text] People in the East prefer to use images rather than logic to be persuasive. Perhaps this is why the participants in the international conference "40 Years on from the Victory Over Japanese Militarism and the Tasks of the Peace Movement in Asian and Pacific Countries," held in Khabarovsk last September, shared their thoughts on war and peace in a way so full of images and emotion.

I could not help recalling the heated debate and the lively conversations at that conference during the 27th CPSU Congress, which advanced a broad peace program. It contains the principled bases for creating a comprehensive system of international security under conditions of reliable peace. The Central Committee Political Report to the congress and M.S. Gorbachev's Statement of 15 January this year consider questions of eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons in close connection with the search for a common comprehensive approach to forming a system of secure and lasting peace throughout the planet, including Asia.

"We advocate," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, "activating the collective search for ways to unblock the conflict situations in the Near and Middle East, in Central America, in Southern Africa, and in all seething points in the world. The interests of world security insistently demand this."

The realization of this demand is a particularly urgent matter for Asia. For it is right there that the greatest number of hotbeds of military danger have arisen since the end of World War II. Many of them have still not been extinguished, posing a threat of a new world conflagration.

#### Dangerous Slide

I remember a conversation I had at the Khabarovsk conference with one of the Japanese delegates, who did not agree at all with the widespread assertion that the end of World War II awakened hope of a just world without wars.

"On the contrary," the guest from Japan objected, "the war in Asia has never ended. What is more, it did not begin in Europe, but in Asia. And not in September 1939, but several years earlier. It was simply that people in Europe pretended for a long time not to notice that a gradual slide toward a big war by way of small wars was taking place precisely in Asia. Could this situation not be repeated once again."

After a short pause my interlocutor indecisively added:

"In Japan the end of World War II is associated not with clear skies but with a mushroom cloud. It is more terrible than any storm clouds. So, the joy at the end of the longest war was clouded by alarm at the shadow of a still more awful war--nuclear war..."

The conference participants made different assessments of the lessons of history and had different approaches to solving the urgent problems of the Asian and Pacific region. But they were all unanimous as regards the chief thing--their understanding of the urgent need to remove the nuclear threat. "We well understand," the Appeal to the Peoples of Countries in the Asian and Pacific Region emphasizes, "that there is no alternative to a broad political dialogue, collective efforts, and a comprehensive approach in the struggle to achieve lasting peace and security."

Undrawn Line

The program for a nuclear-free world advanced in the 15 January Statement and the bases proposed by the 27th Congress for the creation of a comprehensive international security system constitute just such a broad, comprehensive approach to solving the problems of removing the threat of nuclear war and strengthening security in various regions, including the Asian region. For the arms race being shipped up by imperialism and the kindling of regional conflicts are very closely interconnected and interwoven.

The Soviet program is specifically aimed at replacing the principle imposed by militarism--armament instead of development--with the reverse order of things--disarmament for development. And, of course, this applies primarily to the states of the so-called "third world," which are seeking to put an end to backwardness.

No, the end of World War II did not lead to reliable peace on the Asian or the African continents. The former and the new colonialists were in no hurry to draw a line taking account of the changes that had occurred in the world after the rout of fascism and the collapse of colonial empires. Toward the end of the world war the atom bombs with the inoffensive names of "Little Boy" and "Fat Man" were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to extract political dividends--the possibility of imposing American peace terms not only on the Soviet Union but also on all the liberated peoples. Let us note that even then, at the dawn of the atomic era, the Soviet Union was proposing at the United Nations a ban on the production and use of atomic weapons. The Soviet proposal

was rejected on the other side of the ocean. Now that the threat of self-destruction hangs over the world, our country has advanced a 15-year program for the phased total elimination of nuclear weapons on the earth--while, of course, keeping them out of space.

The new Soviet initiatives are addressed to the whole world. However, I would like to emphasize that for the Soviet Union--a major Asian power--it is vitally important to ensure security in Asia. The problems of peace and security are no less acute for all the peoples of the Asian continent than for the peoples of Europe. For it was precisely Europe and Asia that suffered the greatest casualties in the last war. It was precisely the Asian peoples who were used as guinea pigs by the militarists and Asian countries that were used as test sites for the latest means of mass destruction. The Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki became the victims of atomic bombing raids. The American military used chemical weapons in Vietnam. The American-Israeli "strategic allies" have used means of destruction such as vacuum, phosphor, and antipersonnel bombs against the Lebanese and Palestinians.

Nowadays more and more American military bases are appearing in various parts of Asia (there are now more than 100), new militarist blocs and alliances are being knocked together, and arsenals of the latest weapons, including nuclear weapons, are being created. Washington does not conceal its intention of forming in East and Southeast Asia a kind of second front in the struggle against the world of socialism. At the same time, it is resorting to direct strikes or to deliveries of the latest types of weapons to mercenaries--and all this within the framework of so-called "low-intensity conflicts" against the peoples of Asian and African liberated countries (Libya, Angola, Afghanistan). All this fits into the framework of the American strategy of "new globalism."

#### Broad Potential

It is no coincidence that the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at ridding the planet of nuclear weapons and keeping them out of space meet with warm approval and, in a number of instances, also effective support at public and state levels in many Asian countries.

The peoples of Asia, who have strong traditions of humanism, democratism, and love of peace, have accumulated rich experience of the struggle for peace. Nowadays the principles of peaceful coexistence advanced there have been further developed in the proposals to create zones of peace and stability and also nuclear-free zones in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the South Pacific.

Lying on the diplomatic table are proposals to implement confidence-building measures in the Far East, to conclude a convention on mutual nonaggression and the nonuse of force in relations among Asian and Pacific states, to lower the level of naval activity in the world ocean, to set up a constructive dialogue between the states of Indochina and the ASEAN countries, and to normalize the situation on the Korean Peninsula.



Of great significance for improving the situation in Southwest Asia is the DRA's constructive proposal for the unconditional and total cessation and the guaranteed nonresumption of armed or any other interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs--which would open up the way to normalizing relations between that country and its neighbors.

The USSR is invariably ready both for a broad multilateral discussion and for a bilateral dialogue aimed at improving the political climate in Asia and strengthening regional and world peace. This is convincingly shown, in particular, by the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's recent visits to Japan, the DPRK, and Mongolia and the visits to India by a Soviet parliamentary delegation and a party delegation.

The talks in Tokyo showed that, even given the differences that exist on a number of issues, the USSR and Japan can act in the same direction--in the interests of international security. And the more actively Japan comes out in favor of good-neighborliness and does not promote confrontation, the greater the contribution it will be able to make to the common cause of strengthening security.

The Soviet-Korean talks in Pyongyang and the Soviet-Mongolian talks in Ulaanbaatar demonstrated the broad potential that exists in the matter of strengthening world peace and Asian security. Speaking in Ulaanbaatar, the Soviet foreign minister particularly pointed out: "We respect the Chinese leadership's position on questions of the nonmilitarization of space and the non-first use of nuclear weapons, which coincides with the position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We proceed from the premise that the achievement of lasting peace in the region and in the world as a whole is inconceivable without the great Chinese people's active participation in this process."

The Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress noted with satisfaction the certain improvement in relations with our great neighbor--socialist China--and also the potential, despite differences in approaches to a number of international problems, for working together in many cases, cooperating on an equitable and principled basis, not to the detriment of third countries. "Thinking about the future," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "it is possible to say that there are tremendous reserves for cooperation between the USSR and China. They are great because such cooperation accords with both countries' interests; because the dearest things for our peoples--socialism and peace--are indivisible."

#### Command of the Times

Of course, it would be absurd to deny that there are difficulties, considerable difficulties, on the way to strengthening security in the Asian and Pacific region. But it is equally obvious that vigorous actions by broad public circles and political will and common sense on the part of responsible government and state leaders can help to find a solution to the existing problems and conflict situations. A boost will thereby be given to the process of building the edifice of all-Asian

security and cooperation. When it is a question of preserving peace and removing the nuclear threat to the whole globe, no one can be an unconcerned outsider.

Developing the previously advanced idea of the indivisibility of peace in the nuclear age, M.S. Gorbachev proclaimed at the close of the congress that a secure and just peace for all peoples is the chief aim of Soviet policy. "The nuclear danger," he declared, "has made states equal in one respect: In a big war no one can sit on the sidelines or benefit from another's misfortune. Identical security is the imperious demand of the times."

It is precisely the equal danger threatening everyone in a nuclear catastrophe that conditions this identical security not only for the United States and the Soviet Union but also for all large and small states, whether in Europe or in Asia. This is why the 27th Congress advanced as one of the priority tasks the organization of closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, public organizations, and movements which are really concerned about the fate of peace on earth and with all peoples for the sake of creating a comprehensive international security system.

Many of the principled bases of such a system very directly concern all regions, including the Asian and Pacific region. The significance of this vast region increases all the more because there are many tangled knots of contradictions right there and political instability is characteristic of many places. This is why it is necessary to seek solutions and ways in precisely this region, and to do so without delay. As the Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, it is evidently necessary to begin by coordinating and then pooling efforts in the interests of a political settlement of the most painful problems. Such as, for example, the Near East conflict, the Iran-Iraq war, and Pakistani-Afghan relations. This would make it possible to lessen the acuteness of military confrontation in various parts of Asia and to stabilize the situation.

The peace program advanced in the 15 January Statement and at the Soviet Communists' forum is essentially a fusion of the philosophy of shaping a secure world in the nuclear and space age with a platform of specific action, including in the Asian and Pacific region. Specific action aimed at creating a world without nuclear or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, without wars or enmity.

It has long been known that strength lies not in the sword but in the truth. And the nuclear sword is not just two-edged but also doubly deadly. The truth is on the side of those who seek peace. It is the only sensible alternative to nuclear madness. Asia is the cradle not only of three world religions but also of human civilization in general, which is threatened with nuclear catastrophe today. To prevent this from happening, international relations must be built as befits civilized people.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PRAVDA VIEWS EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS

PM300921 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 86 First Edition p 6

[Report by our own correspondent V. Belyakov: "The View From Muqattam Hill"--first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA's own correspondent Vladimir Belyakov has started work in Cairo. We publish below a dispatch from him about the Egyptian capital.

Cairo, April--From Muqattam Hill, which rises above Cairo, the city is like an abstractionist painting. A line of many-hued districts, each quite unlike the other, extends from south to north along the slow-flowing Nile. The new high-rise districts of Ma'adi are next to the low, uniform little houses of Khalifah, the elegant buildings of Garden City are next to the tumbledown structures of Bulaq, the carefully tended villas of Heliopolis are next to the medieval cemetery where hundreds of thousands of homeless people shelter in the ancient burial vaults.

Hemmed in by the desert, Cairo is closely packed. There is very little room left for the streets and squares, not to mention avenues and public gardens. All the space is taken up by houses, incorporating local tradition, European features, and the extravagant whims of their owners. With a population larger than Moscow's, Cairo, with its 12 million inhabitants, is considerably smaller than it in area.

The human throng constantly spills over from the sidewalks onto the roadbed, holding up the already sluggish stream of motor transport. The signs restricting its speed to 60 km per hour can be taken as a joke: The cars can barely crawl, and sometimes stop altogether in traffic jams. That is in spite of the overpasses, tunnels, and one-way traffic in force in many streets.

Public transport--buses and trams--cannot cope with its duties, so a subway is being built in the city. Although the first underground line is only 4.5 km long, it is to pass under the central, densely populated districts which have grown up chaotically over the centuries.

The housing problem is very acute. There is a disastrous shortage of cheap municipal apartments in Cairo, as in the whole of the country. Private owners, who dominate housing construction, prefer to erect "deluxe" apartment blocks where the apartment rent is 1,000 pounds a month or more. This kind of housing is within the means only of the rich, and is intended for them. Under the conditions of the policy of "open doors" for private capital which was introduced in Egypt's economy by former President al-Sadat, a large number of nouveaux riches appeared here, people who made their fortune mainly through various kinds of speculations and mediation deals with foreign firms. According to official statistics, 20 percent of the population now consumes half of the national income. The country has millionaires and even billionaires.

On a clear day, you can see the pyramids well from Muqattam Hill. All of us are familiar with them from childhood. And of course, on one of my first days after arriving in Cairo I set off for Giza, a suburb of the Egyptian capital, to see this man-made wonder.

The environs of the pyramids were deserted. The local tourist industry was literally standing idle. On catching sight of the rare visitors, competing "firms" vied with each other to offer to photograph them on a camel or take them for a ride around the pyramids. Not far away you could see the burned-out carcasses of fashionable hotels and restaurants.

These are the traces of the "police mutiny," as they call it here, which flared up at the end of February. Soldiers from the internal security forces, hearing that it was planned to extend their term of service by a further year, poured out of their camps into the nearby streets and carried out pogroms in protest. They were pacified with the help of the army. The disturbances resulted in many deaths and considerable material damage.

The official investigation reached the conclusion that the disorders had flared up spontaneously. They originated in the severe conditions of service and the poor material position of the soldiers, who are enrolled from among the masses. The Egyptian press notes in this connection that the "police mutiny" reflected one of the most negative features in the development of Egyptian society--the acute social inequality. Not for nothing were the targets of the pogroms symbols of wealth.

It must be said that the vast majority of Egyptians have always been poor. Cakes made of coarse flour, rice, beans, tomatoes--those are their main food products. For many, meat is a great rarity. In order to maintain the broad masses of the people, the government subsidizes prices for the main consumer goods, keeping them at a level accessible to the low-paid strata. Recently this has cost approximately 3 billion Egyptian pounds a year. In January 1977, at the request of the IMF, there was an attempt to annul subsidies. The working people responded with mass protest actions which went down in the country's history as the "bread riots." The decision was rescinded and prices restored.

At the same time it is becoming increasingly difficult to find funds for the subsidies. Every 10 months the Egyptian population increases by 1 million. Food consumption is increasing rapidly, while agricultural production is growing only slowly, by an average of 2 percent a year. There are many reasons, first and foremost the shortage of cultivable land in this desert country and the small scale of production on the majority of peasant farms.

The country is forced to buy half the necessary food products on world markets. It spends some \$3 billion annually on this. Until recently money remittances have come in from the 2-3 million Egyptians working abroad, and there has been stable revenue from oil exports, the use of the Suez Canal, and foreign tourism. But it has also been necessary to resort to foreign loans.

Most of these sources turned out to be unreliable. The world oil market situation is very unfavorable at present. Revenue from oil exports have fallen by \$200 million a month to \$50 million. The flow of foreign tourists has halved. Two events which followed each other last fall frightened off many of those who want to see the pyramids and the sphinx. They were the terrorist capture of the cruise ship "Achille Lauro" in the region of Alexandria and the hijacking of an Egyptian airliner to Maota, which ended with the death of the majority of its passengers. The "police mutiny" did not help increase the number of tourists. Egypt's total losses of currency revenue this fiscal year are very great.

At the same time the country is burdened with a very substantial foreign debt. According to IMF figures its volume is in excess of \$30 billion. Hundreds of millions of dollars a year go to paying off the debts and interest on them.

The economic difficulties affect the poor strata first and foremost. Here is one symptom: The traditional cake costing 1 piaster has disappeared from the stalls. It has been replaced by another, of slightly better quality, but costing 2 piasters. It has become more difficult for the poor to live, while the wealthy strata felt the price increase no more than an elephant feels a mosquito bite. As a result social tension in the country has increased.

February's events were the catalyst for the government to adopt long-planned measures aimed at smoothing out the sharpest social corners. It was decided, for instance, to impose order in the sphere of tax collection, especially from the wealthy, to cut spending on maintaining the state apparatus, to reduce imports, and to reorganize the system of management of enterprises in the state sector so as to increase their efficiency. Here it must be noted that the state sector has been the basis of the Egyptian economy since the times of President al-Nasir. Now it produces two-thirds of all industrial output.

If you look to your left from Muqattam Hill, up the Nile, you can distinguish the outlines of factory buildings in the distance. That is Hulwan, the industrial heart of Egypt. Its numerous enterprises include a metallurgical combine. Like the Aswan High Dam, the Naj' Hammadi aluminum plant, and a number of other major projects, this combine is the fruit of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation, which developed actively during the 60's. The memory of those times lives on, especially among older people. I have already heard many people say: Nothing should divide the Soviet Union and Egypt, relations between our countries must be good.

Recently there have been increasingly frequent events in Soviet-Egyptian relations of which it can be said: "For the first time for a long time." They include the visit to Egypt by a Soviet parliamentary delegation. In the course of meetings with the delegation Egyptian President H. Mubarak and the country's other leaders came out in favor of the further development of Soviet-Egyptian ties. It is now time for concrete steps in this direction.

Naturally, the main topic in the local press and in conversation in recent days is the American raid on Libya. It agitated the whole of Egypt. And although Egyptian-Libyan relations have recently been very strained, people here condemned Washington's brigandage. The Egyptian Government, expressing indignation over the armed action against the neighboring Arab countries, offered to send a team of doctors to Tripoli to help the victims of the bombing. The Egyptian People's Assembly adopted a resolution assessing the U.S. action as a violation of the UN Charter and international legal norms. Despite Cairo's "special relationship" with Washington and its dependence on American "aid," including food aid, the principles of Arab solidarity proved more precious to the Egyptians in this situation. The leading Cairo newspaper AL-AHRAM reported that three times in recent months the United States tried to obtain Egypt's consent to participation in anti-Libyan military actions, but met with refusal every time.

...The picture of Egyptian reality today is every bit as complicated as the view of Cairo from Muqattam Hill. Among the motley hues, bright colors are intermingled with darker tones. But the Egyptians are optimists by nature, and always hope for better.

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### USSR-LESOTHO AGREEMENT ON CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH  
SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK (OTDEL VTOROY) in Russian No 4, 1986 pp  
61-63

[Text] Agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho on cultural and scientific cooperation.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho, desiring the strengthening and development of friendly relations existing between the two countries and their peoples,

recognizing that the encouragement and development of scientific and cultural ties between their countries serves their mutual interests,

considering that an Agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation will contribute to these goals,

have agreed to the following:

#### Article I

The Contracting Parties will strengthen and develop mutually advantageous cultural and scientific exchanges on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

#### Article II

The Contracting Parties will encourage, strengthen and develop cooperation and exchanges between scientific, cultural, educational, sport, creative, literary and social establishments and organizations of both countries.

The Contracting Parties will promote mutual exchanges of professors, lecturers, teachers and specialists in the field of education between universities and higher educational institutions.

#### Article III

The Contracting Parties will cooperate in the matter of preparing national cadres for industry, agriculture, science and culture by means of allocating stipends for study in higher educational institutions and post-graduate programs.

#### Article IV

1. With the aims of promoting the exchange of students the Contracting Parties will render aid to the citizens of the other Party, taking into consideration the number of stipends allocated and the number in enrollment for study or internship at their own higher educational institutions or scientific establishments.

The Contracting Parties will mutually recognize educational documents, educational degrees and titles issued and awarded in the USSR and the Kingdom of Lesotho and with these aims will carry out as soon as possible negotiations and will sign a protocol on equivalency of educational documents, educational degrees and titles.

#### Article V

Within the limits of their possibilities the Contracting Parties will cooperate in the study of the language, literature and culture of each other in corresponding educational institutions and scientific institutes of their countries.

#### Article VI

The Contracting Parties will encourage the exchange of artistic exhibits, theatrical, musical and folklore collectives, the organization of festivals as well as symposia on questions of culture, to promote the showing in their countries of the films of the other Party as well as to cooperate in the sale and purchase of films from the other Party and in holding film festivals and film weeks.

#### Article VII

The Parties will encourage cooperation in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting by means of an exchange of television and radio programs, musical bookings and documentary, popular-scientific and educational films.

#### Article VIII

The Contracting Parties will encourage the exchange of sports teams, trainers and specialists in the field of physical culture and sport on the basis of agreements reached between corresponding sports organizations of both countries.

#### Article IX

The Contracting Parties will encourage cultural and scientific exchanges between non-governmental organizations of both countries.

#### Article X

The Contracting Parties pledge to create mutually beneficial conditions for the translation and dissemination of books, booklets and journals published by the other Contracting Party in the sphere of science, education, health care, culture and art.



**Article XI**

The Contracting Parties will encourage mutual trips for tourists and will render aid to each other in this sphere.

**Article XII**

The Contracting Parties pledge to draw up a program of measures which will be subject to fulfillment within the framework of the current Agreement.

**Article XIII**

Financial questions connected with implementing the current Agreement are to be coordinated by the Parties separately on the basis of reciprocity.

**Article XIV**

The Contracting Parties, according to mutual agreement, will periodically meet with the aim of observing the course of fulfillment of the current Agreement and in case of the necessity of making amendments to it.

**Article XV**

- a. The Current Agreement will enter into force from the moment of its signing.
- b. The date of its action is established for a period of five years and the Agreement is to be automatically renewed for the following five-year period as long as one of the Parties does not inform the other Party in writing six months before the expiration of the corresponding date of its intention to end the Agreement or to make amendments to it.

Completed in Moscow 10 December 1985 in two copies, each in Russian and English, in which both texts have indential strength.

For the Government of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics  
E. Shevardnadze

For the Government of the  
Kingdom of Lesotho  
V. Makhele

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